PUBLIC FACES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GENDER, ETHNIC, AND RACIAL DIVERSITY ON PBS

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ABSTRACT

KELLY K. DAVIS: Public Faces: A Content Analysis of Gender, Ethnic, and Racial Diversity on PBS
(Under the direction of Debashis Aikat, Ph.D.)

When educational television became "public television" in 1967, careful consideration was given to its role in American culture. Congress, the Carnegie Commission, and numerous industry panels all commented that this new entity—funded in part by tax revenue—would serve the interests of communities of people who lacked strength in numbers or power. It would be a forum where minorities in body or creed would have a voice. It would reflect the true plurality of the United States. However, just ten years later, an internal review would find an overwhelming lack of diversity, and criticism over this issue has continued since that time.

Drawing upon normative theories relating to media's role in society, the research reported in this dissertation evaluated the fulfillment of PBS's intended role as a public television entity in American society. Based on a content analysis of a representative sample of PBS's primetime offerings in 2011, programs were analyzed for gender, racial, and ethnic diversity. While the prominence, story function, and prestige of minorities on public television are not significantly different from those of men and

non-Hispanic Whites, the PBS national primetime schedule falls far short of fair representation of these groups and women. Additionally, gender inequity was found in occupational prestige and role prominence, where women were less likely to be cast as reporters or hosts in nonfiction programs and men were more likely than women to appear in high-prestige occupations. By providing a quantitative analysis of diversity on this often-ignored broadcasting entity, this study informs the ongoing debate over the place of public television in our society.

For Selena

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This dissertation was a team effort. Even though there were times when I felt as if I were wandering alone in the dark, it is quite clear that I could never have done this without the help of many people.

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thoughtful—he's been everything that he's needed to be to push me forward, step by step. His tireless support has gotten me to where I am today.

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APT	American Public Television
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CPB	Corporation for Public Broadcasting
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISCO-88	International Standard Classification of Occupations, 1988
NAEB	National Association of Educational Broadcasters
NET	National Educational Television
NETA	National Educational Telecommunications Association
NPS	National Program Schedule
PBS	Public Broadcasting System
SIOPS	Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale

CHAPTER 1

PUBLIC TELEVISION IN AMERICA

> The great promise of public television is its potential to display everything that's going on in the world — in all its diversity, its primitiveness, its sophistication, its specificity, configured by every possible kind of voice: from inside and outside, discontented and secure, rhetorical, meditative, spontaneous, comic and tragic. If this were public television's project — that any subject could be named, taught, defended, embellished and refined, and that any person could appear — we would have access to a thick, rich field of experience that encouraged compassion, intelligence and informed action (Godmilow, 1993).

In 2007, Ken Burns' mini-series *The War* served as a flashpoint for controversy, as groups of Latinos and Hispanics across the country protested that they had not been represented in the 14-hour documentary (Everhart, 2007). The public criticism led Burns to add 28 minutes to the film, but more importantly, it started a process of internal review of racial diversity in programming by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), eventually leading to a $20 million grant-funding initiative to promote diversity in programming (Behrens, 2009; CPB, 2009b). Some observers pointed out that whether or not one program represents everyone, public television as a whole does a good job of maintaining diversity in its programming (Getler, 2007). However, the empirical evidence behind both this claim and opposing criticism is scant.

Public debate over the content of PBS broadcasts is perennial, as perhaps it should be. Currently, much public and legislative debate is centered on the federal funds supplied to the CPB. The arguments against the continuation of the annual appropriation of approximately $460 million come mostly from conservatives, who feel that the content of public broadcasting is elitist and liberal (Sefton, 2011). On the other hand, critics from the left complain about conservative slant (e.g., FAIR, 2010), and minority groups and women have concerns about the quantity and quality of their representation.

Research Preamble for this Dissertation

Drawing upon normative theories relating to media's role in society, the research reported in this dissertation evaluated the fulfillment of PBS's intended role as a public television entity in American society. Based on a content analysis of a representative sample of PBS's primetime offerings in 2011, this dissertation analyzed programs for gender, racial, and ethnic diversity. The findings indicate that while the prominence, story function and prestige of minorities on public television are not significantly different from non-Hispanic Whites, the PBS national primetime schedule falls far short of fair representation of these groups. Further, women were found to be less prominent and less likely to have high-prestige occupations than men. By providing a quantitative analysis of diversity on this little-studied broadcasting entity, this dissertation informs the ongoing debate over the place of public television in our society.

As an introduction to the scope and intent of the dissertation, this chapter outlines the history of the public television system, how it is organized today, and enumerates several hypotheses that have guided the study.

This chapter also covers how diversity might be best studied on a national level. A surprisingly small number of scholarly studies have reviewed racial and/or gender representation on public television programming content (for a review of diversity in both public and commercial television, see Graves, 1999, and Kubey & Shifflet, 1995). To understand why this is the case, a discussion of the unique history and structure of American public television is called for, as it will demonstrate the complexity of the system, which at its heart is somewhere in between a loose association of individual stations and a centrally-controlled network.

The History and Organization of the Public Television System

The Public Broadcasting System plays an important role in America's media culture. Despite regularly standing lower in ratings than the major commercial networks,[1] it has also been widely recognized for its quality. For example, for the 2011-2012 season, PBS Children's programming won 18 Parent's Choice Awards, 5 Kidscreen Awards, and 37 Daytime Emmy Award nominations. Programs appearing on PBS in prime time received 20 Emmy Awards, seven Peabody Awards, one Golden Globe Award, and three Academy Awards (PBS, 2012b). PBS broadcasts reach nearly 123 million people per month and over 91% of television households in the course of a year (PBS, 2012a). Its content centers primarily on science, history, nature, and public affairs, in addition to cultural programs such as dramas and performances. In addition to its television, Internet, and mobile content services, PBS programs often include national "outreach" programs, including public screenings, panel discussions, and teacher

[1] PBS' share of the total television households fell from 2.6% in 1984 to 1.1% in 2009 (Gorman, 2010).

workshops. PBS LearningMedia offers educators a media-on-demand resource with tens of thousands of lesson plans, including materials from NASA and the National Archives.

To understand the complexity of the public television system and how difficult generalizations are to make, a more detailed discussion of the American institution is warranted. The following section will provide an overview of the history and development of public television in America and provide some insights into the involvement of women and minorities along the way.

The concept of "public" television was developed long after television stations dedicated to education were in place. In 1953, KUHT at the University of Houston became the first noncommercial educational station to begin broadcasting. While KUHT and the educational stations around the country that followed were essentially independent, they began to join or create professional associations such as the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) in the 1950s (Engelman, 1996).

With the support of the Johnson administration, the Carnegie Foundation established the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television in 1965. Later known as Carnegie I, the commission was a blue-ribbon panel designed to investigate the needs and potential of the emerging educational broadcasting system. To do so, it solicited input from the stations already broadcasting as well as from politicians, artists, educators, and business leaders (Witherspoon & Kovitz, 2000). The commission coined the term "public television," and described its vision of the positive impact a non-commercial broadcasting system could have on America:

> Through the diversified uses of television, Americans will know themselves, their communities and their world in richer ways. They will gain a fuller awareness of

> the wonder and the variety of the arts, the sciences, scholarship, and craftsmanship, and of the many roads along which the products of man's mind and man's hands can be encountered. Public Television is capable of becoming the clearest expression of American diversity, and of excellence within diversity. (Carnegie Commission on Education, 1967).

Part of the vision essential to the commission's proposal was an embrace of pluralism, in which local communities, minorities and minority viewpoints would be represented. Instead of tailoring messages to appeal to the largest audience possible, messages that appealed to only a few thousand people would have a platform (Carnegie Commission on Education, 1967; Ouellette, 2002). In this way, mass appeal was given a back seat to diversity. It is interesting that this proposal to give a voice to the voiceless came from a group of people who represented America's elite. Of the fifteen members, author Ralph Ellison was the only African-American and Houston Post executive Oveta Culp Hobby was the only woman. The other thirteen members of the commission were White men. These included five university presidents, three company presidents, the governor of North Carolina, a concert pianist, the ambassador to Switzerland and one television producer (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967).

Carnegie I made 12 broad recommendations, two of which were of paramount importance. First, federal subsidy was required if local stations were to be able to create content that served their communities—particularly if that content was to do anything but court large audiences. Second, to preserve the system's autonomy, an institution had to be formed that would serve as an intermediary between the federal government and public television. The commission called this entity the Corporation for Public Television (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967). One important recommendation of the committee that was not enacted was the establishment of an

excise tax on new television sets to pay for public television. Similar to the tax arrangement British Broadcasting Corporation in the United Kingdom, this was intended to shield the public television system from political pressure from Congress, which otherwise might withhold the subsidy to apply pressure and affect content. The failure to achieve this safeguard has led some to fault PBS for a lack of originality or controversy due to fears of upsetting the holders of the purse strings (Ledbetter, 1997; Ouellette, 2002).

The commission's report went to Congress in February of 1967, and by the end of the year, the Public Broadcasting Act had been signed (Witherspoon & Kovitz, 2000). Federal funding was established, and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting was created. Its first order of business was to form national programming services for television and radio. For television, this was the Public Broadcasting Service.

Created in 1969, PBS was formed as a nonprofit solely to facilitate dialog and to distribute content among its member stations. It could not own or operate stations or production facilities. Rather than being part of a network, PBS member stations were sovereign (Engleman, 1996).

Overall, the new "public television" did not live up to its promise of a patchwork quilt of disenfranchised voices. The schedule for the first years of the 1970s was overwhelmingly "high culture," featuring British import series and televised Shakespearean dramas (Ouellette, 2002). Some programs by and for minorities, however, did air. For example, San Francisco's KQED produced *Black Journal,* which was distributed nationally by PBS, as was *Soul!,* produced by WNET in New York. Both of these programs blended performance, interview, education, and journalism in the vein

of the Black press (Ouellette, 2002). Still, minority representation of African-Americans was scant, and even rarer for or by other minorities or women (Ouellete, 2002).

As the civil unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s declined, support declined for shows like *Black Journal* and *Soul!* By 1974, *Soul!* had been canceled and *Black Journal* had moved on to commercial television. This, according to Oullette (1998), was a sign of a common understanding of the purpose of minority programming in the public television system: to give a voice to minorities about the "race problem." Once mass attention shifted to other matters, these shows lost both financial and political support (Ouellete, 2002). Ouellette argued that in this way, PBS programming was symptomatic of the invisibility of Whiteness, where the views and tastes of the majority are mistaken for universal views and interests (Dyer, 1988). At a time when race was no longer a subject, minority viewers were expected to be interested in watching what White viewers wanted to watch. As the 1970s progressed, this proved to be high-middle-brow fare along the lines of *Masterpiece Theatre* and *The French Chef* (Engleman, 1996).

Before 1980, several more attempts were made to secure permanent federal funding for public broadcasting, including recommendations from a second Carnegie Commission (Carnegie II). None of these attempts was successful, however (Engleman, 1996). Consequently, the system began to rely more heavily on other sources of funding in the 1980s, especially corporate underwriters. The underwriting guidelines were loosened, allowing the use of logos, brand names, and slogans in order to court more companies by making underwriting spots more like commercial advertisements (Engelman, 1996). Indeed, it was in this decade that *Masterpiece Theatre* became *Mobile/Exxon Masterpiece Theatre*. It should be noted, however, that this side of public

television funding was present even in the early days. For example, the CPB was pitching the public television audience to corporate underwriters as a place to reach well-educated, high-income viewers (Ouellete, 2002). This practice continues today.

Another effect of the need for funding that persists today is that a great deal of the operating budget comes from member donations. Members are a class of viewers who are of particular interest to stations, in that they have the means and will to support them. These members are overwhelmingly White, well-educated and affluent (Ouellette, 2002).

Another response to the funding problem in the 1980s was the increased centralization of programming power. By changing the membership rules to encourage (or enforce) more consistent programming on a national level, more producers could successfully court corporate underwriting (Ouellete, 2002). Unfortunately, this formula was dependent on courting large audiences, and pushed PBS toward a network model. As PBS struggled to find financing, the political and financial pressure to appeal to mass audiences conflicted with the mandate to offer a platform to the voiceless (Ouellette, 2002). To offer some insight into how one of public television's intended functions—the representation of a diverse populace—has fared while PBS navigated this incongruity, this dissertation examined how women and minorities were portrayed in prime time on PBS during the year 2011.

Structure of Today's Public Television System

In order to understand why this population of content is appropriate, it is important to see the complexity of how shows are delivered to stations and how productions are funded. This section will provide an overview of the current structure of

American public television and explain why the national PBS schedule is most appropriate for the goals of this study.

For nearly a decade, PBS has been named America's most trusted national institution—not only outscoring commercial television, but also Congress, the federal government, and courts of law (PBS, 2012b). Technically, PBS is a media distribution service that feeds programming content to its member stations. However, as most public television stations are PBS members—354 in the United States—the terms "PBS" and "public television" are often used synonymously. For the purposes of this dissertation, "public television" will include only member stations.

PBS, known for such well-known and highly regarded programs as *Sesame Street, Frontline, PBS Newshour,* and *Masterpiece,* is not a producing entity. Programs come to PBS from member stations, independent production companies, and other content services (e.g., the BBC). It then "feeds" these programs to its members. PBS publishes a "grid," a national schedule of feeds and recommended broadcast times for its programming, and station programmers are free to pick and choose to a certain extent. However, stations are contractually required to broadcast shows designated "common carriage" concurrently to promote brand recognition and large national audiences. There are 10 to 15 regular programs each year that are designated common carriage, making up approximately 18 of the 21 primetime hours in a week. Stations are not required to air the other programs on the National Program Service (PBS, 2006).

Public television is unique in American broadcasting, and perhaps in the world, due to its localized structure and incomplete dependence on either commercial markets or

public subsidy (Aufderheide, 1996). Because American public television was created to give voice to disparate and disenfranchised groups and to provide programming of interest to the whole nation, its purpose has been necessarily contradictory (Ouellette, 1998).

The ongoing debates over the future of public television are rooted in the competing forces that have been with the system from the beginning (Ledbetter, 1997; Smallwood 2008). The architects of the public system emphasized the importance of minority viewpoints and local control, but sought to empower these efforts through the creation of a nation-wide distribution web with a powerful central hub, the CPB (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967). While the intention may have been to create a system which could serve audiences "ranging from the tens of thousands to the occasional tens of millions," (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967), the financial advantages associated with centralized programming constituted a pressure toward the latter end of the spectrum (Smallwood, 2008).

In American commercial networks, affiliate stations receive network programming in exchange for local advertising air time. PBS member stations, on the other hand, pay substantial fees for a subscription to the National Program Service, and more for shows distributed through PBS Plus. This, however, means that individual stations have more freedom to schedule according to the needs of the local community, rather than being tied to the network schedule. The portion of a station's schedule not taken from PBS's offerings comes from a variety of sources: locally produced shows and

programs distributed by other services such as the BBC or American Public Television (APT) fill the gaps.

Content flows through the system as shown in Figure 1. Shows are created primarily by independent producers or by stations. Of the 391 non-commercial television licensees (Waldman, 2011), more than 350 are PBS member stations (PBS, 2012b). PBS stations are locally owned and operated, and many produce their own content intended for local or wider broadcast (CPB, 2012). In addition to programs distributed by PBS and those created by stations for their own use, they may also receive content from alternative distributors, such as American Public Television (APT) or the National Educational Television Association (NETA). At any given hour, what is playing on public television depends on where you're watching (CPB, 2012).

From the beginning, public broadcasting's mission has been to offer content that serves local communities, particularly those in need of educational, informational, and cultural programming (Carnegie I, 1967). The mission statement adopted by PBS member stations reads:

> Because the goal of commercial television is to maximize profits by attracting as many viewers as possible to expose them to advertising, its programming philosophy is driven by ratings as a key measure of its success. Public television, on the other hand, strives for impact and measures its success by the extent of its ability to educate and inform, to enlighten and entertain. (PBS, 2004).

Recently, the continuance of public funding for PBS and NPR emerged again as another chapter in the enduring debate among lawmakers over the value of public media. This was in part due to the financial crisis that began in the fall of 2008. The majority of PBS underwriting sales came from industry sectors that were particularly vulnerable to

the recession, such as the automotive, real estate and financial sectors. Consequently, corporate underwriting also declined (CPB, 2009b).

Corporate funders are under pressure to justify underwriting expenditures, which means that stations are under more pressure to offer programs that accumulate higher ratings (June-Friesen, 2008). The result of these combined pressures is that the continued existence of public television is dependent upon its ability to engage audiences that appeal to both legislators and underwriters.

The national schedule of PBS programming is appropriate to examine for gender and minority diversity for two reasons. First, the most popular public television shows in any market are most often nationally-broadcast shows that carry the PBS brand (Everhart, 2010). Second, although the public television system was designed so that individual stations could make programming decisions based on the needs of their communities (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967; CPB, 2012; Engleman, 1996; Lashley, 1992; PBS, 2012c; Rowland, 1993; Witherspoon & Kovitz, 2000), the PBS national schedule contains the most commonly-used content among public stations (Everhart, 2010). It therefore seems an appropriate—if incomplete—representative of American public television.

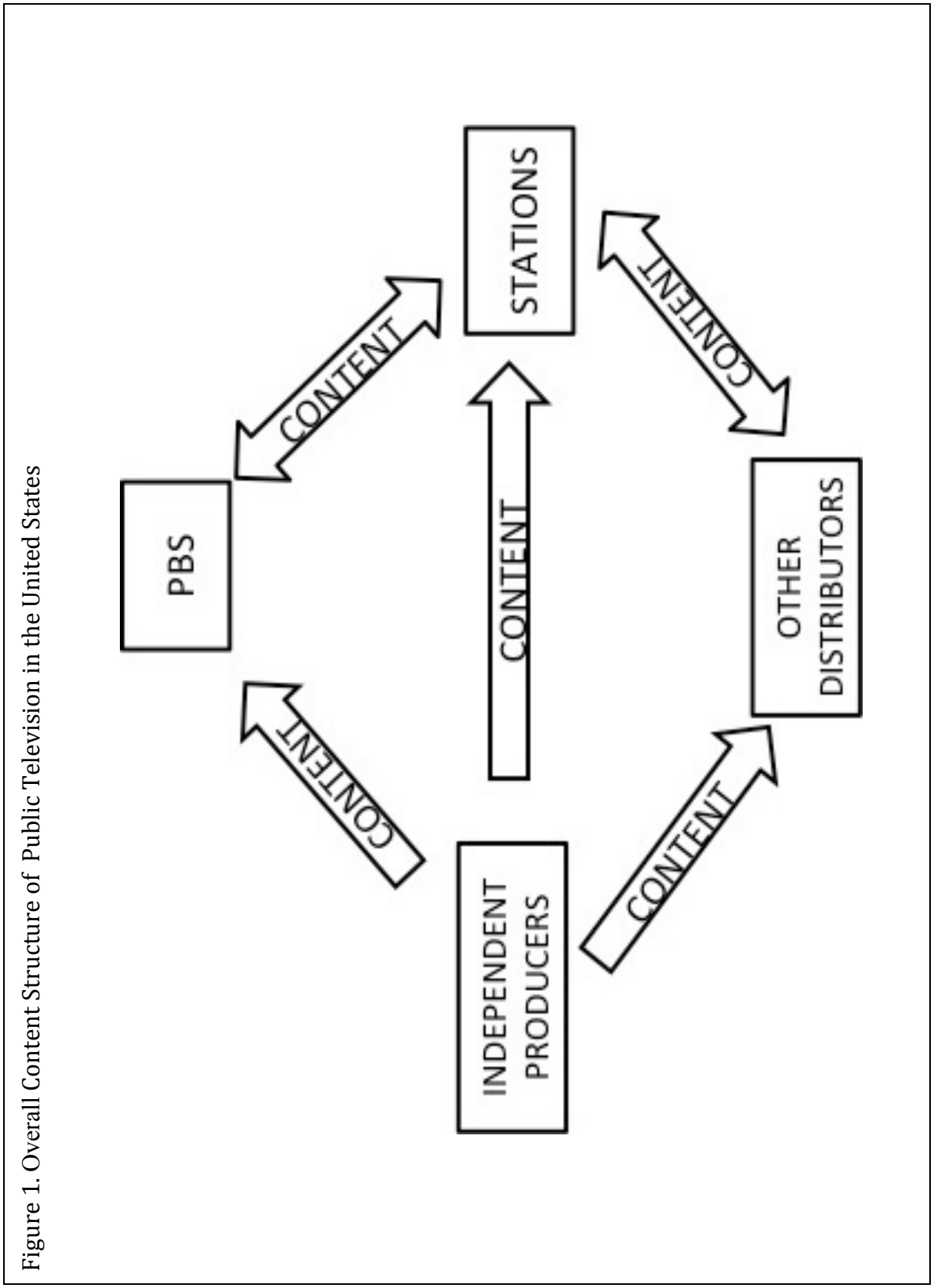


Figure 1. Overall Content Structure of Public Television in the United States

Hypotheses

The goals of this dissertation are to describe the representation of ethnic, gender, and racial groups on the national PBS schedule and to evaluate these findings based on normative theories of the media. This section will enumerate several hypotheses to guide the study. Because research on diversity in public television content is scant, these predictions are based primarily on the findings of previous studies of commercial television.

The variables of interest in this dissertation go beyond the ratio of White to non-White faces, but that is not to suggest that this ratio is not important. Approximately 40% of the nation's youth are non-White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a), and yet the world portrayed on the major broadcast networks does not reflect this variety of ancestry in the real world (Heinz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004). The variety of ancestry portrayed in the world of public television has yet to be empirically explored.

The many content analyses of commercial networks suggest that it is unlikely that all social groups will be represented on PBS to match their portion of the population. The first and central prediction of this study is that across the PBS national schedule, some groups will be represented disproportionately. Previous studies of commercial television content have found that African Americans, Asian Americans and Whites have been represented on television in proportions greater than or equal to presence in the U.S. population (Heinz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004; Mastro, 2009; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). However, the same cannot be said for other groups. Latinos, despite comprising approximately 13% of the population (U.S. Census, 2010), have been found to represent

7% or less of the primetime television population (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Middle-Eastern Americans, approximately four percent of the population, have been found to make up only one half of one percent of characters on primetime commercial television (Heniz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004). Native Americans and South Asians each comprise approximately one percent of the U.S. population, and are under-represented on commercial primetime television, making up from 0 to 0.4% of the characters found (Heinz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004; Mastro, 2009). Further, content analyses of network television suggest that there will be a disparity in the representation of men and women on the national schedule. Heinz-Knowles and Henderson (2004) found that 65% of characters on network primetime were male. Kubey and Shifflit (1995) found PBS stations to be roughly similar to commercial stations in terms of gender representation (approximately 64% of the programs studied were mostly male).

Based on these findings, the following predictions can be made regarding the representation of the social groups of interest to this dissertation. Representation will be measured as a pure count of the number of characters of each social group found present in the schedule.

H1a. The portion of African-American, Asian, and White characters on the PBS national schedule will equal or exceed their portions of the U.S. population.

H1b. The portion of Hispanic, Middle-Eastern, Native American, and South Asian characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be smaller than their portions of the U.S. population.

H1c. The portion of female characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be smaller than the female portion of the U.S. population.

The portrayal of a social group can go beyond issues of quantity, however. How women or minorities are represented on television when they do appear can have as dramatic an impact as their mere presence or absence. It is not difficult to call to mind examples of TV programs where a woman's primary contribution seemed to be based on her appearance, nor is it difficult to predict of what ethnicity a foreign terrorist will be cast in a contemporary drama. For this reason, three more types of portrayal will be considered: the prestige level of the individual's occupation, the prominence of the character within the program, and the function of the individual (for good or ill) in the story**.**

The occupational role a character plays can be an indicator of his or her social status. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau (2010a) show that the median incomes of Asian Americans, non-Hispanic Whites, and men were approximately $30K per year, while women, Hispanic Americans, and African Americans each had median incomes of about $20K. Heintz-Knowles and Henderson (2004) found that Latinos were four times as likely as any other ethnicity to play domestic workers, and that significantly fewer were in high-status occupations such as judges, doctors, or elected officials. Scholars

have found that measures of the perceived prestige of various occupations have been quite reliable across time and geography (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 2003).

H2a: Asian and White characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to have, on average, higher-status occupations than Non-White characters.

H2b: Non-Hispanic characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to have, on average, higher-status occupations than Hispanic characters.

H2c: Male characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to have, on average, higher-status occupations than female characters.

The prominence of the members of the group in the program should be distinguished from the other types of portrayal. A program about a group of White aid workers in sub-Saharan Africa may have a large number of non-White characters, but it might also treat them as scenery. This dynamic can be reflected in the number of visual appearances made by characters within each program. While numerous studies have examined commercial broadcasts for prominence by comparing major and minor roles (e.g., Harwood & Anderson, 2002; Li-Vollmer, 2002; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000), these types of roles are not easily compared to documentaries, which tend to be structured like news, often using correspondents and multiple interviewees to tell a story. The simplest way to determine the prominence of an individual in a broadcast may simply be to count the number of times his or her image appears. The following hypotheses are based on the size and social status of the groups of interest as described above, as well as previous studies that show that non-White, female, and Hispanic characters are featured less

prominently than White males on primetime television (Heinz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004; Mastro, 2009).

H3a: White characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to be more prominent than non-white characters.

H3b: Non-Hispanic characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to be more prominent than Hispanic characters.

H3c: Male characters on the PBS national primetime schedule will be found to be more prominent than female characters.

Harwood and Anderson (2002) defined story function as the overall effect a character has on the plot of a story. In an analysis of commercial broadcasting, Harwood and Anderson (2002) found that the story function of Latinos was significantly less positive than that of other ethnic groups. There are not enough data on which to base hypotheses in this area, so the following research question is offered:

RQ1a: What is the relationship between the race of a character on the PBS primetime schedule and his or her story function?

RQ1b: What is the relationship between the ethnicity of a character on the PBS primetime schedule and his or her story function?

RQ1c: What is the relationship between the gender of a character on the PBS primetime schedule and his or her story function?

Significance of the Study

> Through our programming, PBS aspires to be a driving force in fortifying [the] global community with content that values diversity and equality, as well as individual strengths and struggles to generate understanding and acceptance (PBS, 2012d).

In evaluating the fulfillment of PBS's mission of fostering diversity as a public television entity in American society, this dissertation draws upon normative theories relating to the role of the media in society. This dissertation will also contribute new knowledge about gender, racial, and ethnic diversity in PBS television programming in the United States.

The data collected will have practical value to people within the television industry and to those who would influence policy decisions regarding public media. By simply describing the level of representation of various social groups on television, it will add much-needed data to the discussion of PBS's service to its communities. Social group advocates will have a clearer understanding of their own influence on and treatment by the most significant contributor of content to the public television system. Policy makers will see how PBS represents the population from which it receives funding. Public television professionals will have an independent evaluation of PBS's progress towards its goal of a diverse programming schedule that serves underserved communities.

There is a continuing conversation in our society about the need for a government-subsidized media system. Many contend that it is neither necessary nor proper for the government to be in the business of television. Others believe that the role of public television is a counterweight that stimulates program diversity and provides

programming for and by those outside the mainstream. In order to speak intelligently about the performance of public television, one has to know what is on public television, and that process begins with an examination of the most popular, best-known, and most used content in the public television system.

Additionally, this study will begin the process of the creation of a normative theory specifically designed to evaluate the contribution of public television in America. Without a system of benchmarks developed independently from industry and political forces, it will not be possible to evaluate the role of public television in our society. Ethnic, gender, and racial diversity is only a part of this evaluation, but diversity is important to millions of Americans and to the public good, and so it is a good place to start.

Definition of Terms

Broadcasting. While the term "broadcasting" traditionally referred to the electromagnetic transmission of a radio or television signal, it has come to include a variety of content distribution technologies such as cable, satellite, and Internet services. This dissertation is concerned with the content of the PBS national schedule, which is delivered to its audience via all of these channels, sometimes simultaneously. Because the method of delivery is not relevant to this study, the term "broadcast" will include all technologies through which content is transmitted "live" regularly. For example, this excludes on-demand, streaming, and downloadable programs.

Ethnicity. This dissertation defines ethnicity according to the guidelines set by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (1995) used by the U.S. Census Bureau. This

classification distinguishes between those who belong to the Hispanic/Latino sociolinguistic group and those who do not. While there are numerous linguistic groups in the United States, the Hispanic/Latino group is far more prevalent than any others, making up more than 13% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). The next largest non-English linguistic group is Chinese, making up less than one percent of the U.S. population (Modern Language Association, 2012). Note that roughly half of the Hispanics in the U.S. are non-White or multi-racial (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010b).

Gender. Many scholars distinguish between biological sex and gender, the latter referring to a pattern of cultural roles (Roscoe, 1994, p. 341) associated with biological sex, but not limited to it (Archer & Lloyd, 2002). It is helpful to remember that gender is socially constructed, and membership in a given gender is not dictated solely by biology; in this study, transgender individuals were considered to be members of the group to which they appeared to identify, as exemplified by appearance and behavior (Archer & Lloyd, 2002).

Race. In 1983, the American Psychological Association passed a resolution that discouraged psychology researchers from using the concept of race to explain behavior (American Psychological Association, 2003). The reason behind their opposition to its use was that the concept of race has no clear, commonly-used definition, and as such its use as a variable is problematic. Racial categories are socially constructed and not based strictly on any consistent physiological distinction (Slatton & Feagin, 2011). Nevertheless, race has been used extensively as an independent variable in psychological research. At the very least, race is a powerful signifier of group membership, and is

commonly used not only by researchers, but by policy makers, content producers, PBS executives, and activist groups. People self-identify with racial groups, and despite the fact that the groups are arbitrary and imprecisely defined, they are still worthy of study, particularly when discussing the representation of these social groups in national media.

As might be expected, racial categories and the characteristics commonly associated with them vary extensively between cultures (Slatton & Feagin, 2011). Because this dissertation is concerned with the role of racial groups in the United States and their portrayal on U.S. public television, the study will categorize all characters into racial groups, but analyses will concern only those characters presumed to be U.S. citizens. Further, the categories used in this study will be derived from the list of the most common racial categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau (2010a). Respondents to the census most commonly identified themselves in these four categories: African American/Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, and White. Additionally, because the Middle East and South Asian regions are prominent in American news and policies, these social groups will also be considered of interest to the study and will be included in analyses.

Prime time. Prime time is the common term for the day part that attracts the most viewers and consequently is the most desirable time to air advertisements. This is generally accepted to be from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. on weekdays and from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. on Sundays. Saturday does not include primetime hours (The Nielsen Company, 2009).

Limitations

As will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, the major limitation of this dissertation is the fact that a very low number of individuals from some social groups were found, which limited the types of analyses available. This is despite the fact that more than 1,700 characters were identified within the content sample, and more than 1,300 were coded as U.S. citizens. Also, the classification of characters into various social groups was rarely the result of self-classification, and instead was based on appearance, behavior, and contextual cues. Consequently, there is an unknown degree of uncertainty in the placement of characters in these categories—in other words, we cannot know if the characters would place themselves in the same category as did the coders. A measurement of the validity of this classification is impractical, but coding was deemed sufficiently reliable among four coders to justify the analyses.

Organization of this Dissertation

As an introduction to the scope and intent of the dissertation, this chapter outlined the diversity on public television, the history of the public television system, and how it is organized today. It also enumerated several hypotheses that guided the design of the study and the analyses performed. Chapter 2 will establish the theoretical framework for the study and review the relevant literature. Chapter 3 will explain the method used for this quantitative content analysis in detail, and Chapter 4 will describe the results of the data collection and analyses. Chapter 5 will present conclusions and recommendations based on the results.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

> To the extent that the press recognizes its responsibilities and makes them the basis of operational policies, the libertarian system will satisfy the needs of society. To the extent that the press does not assume its responsibilities, some other agency must see that the essential functions of mass communication are carried out (Peterson, 1956).

This dissertation characterizes the representation of gender, race, and ethnic groups on national primetime public television broadcasts during the 2011 calendar year. The previous chapter stated the goals of the study and articulated three groups of predictions and one group of research questions. This chapter will concentrate on the theoretical framework upon which the collected data will be interpreted. Because American public television—like many public media systems around the world—was created with an explicit set of goals to benefit society, this framework will be based on normative theories of the media.

The Carnegie Commission of 1965 did not explicitly base its recommendations on media theory, but as mentioned in Chapter 1, the values on which *Public Television: A Program for Action* is based are sentiments that are also found in the dominant theoretical paradigms of the mid-20th Century. By articulating the dreams of what television should be, we will be in a better place to understand what it is.

This chapter will first consider the essential concepts of the libertarian and social responsibility paradigms as they relate to television. It will then consider how these

concepts may be applied to the representation of women and minorities on television, and how public broadcasting may be seen from a normative viewpoint. Finally, it will review some relevant research concerning diversity on television.

Normative Theory and the Media

The aim of this dissertation is to collect and explore empirical data to inform the civic dispute over the quality of the service public television provides to America. A discussion of the goals and values inherent in this system is the means by which these data will become sensible. This section will examine normative theories that are fundamental to what television ought to be and what role public television might have in that ideal. It will consider the concepts of the public interest and the marketplace of ideas and how these ideas shape libertarian and social responsibility theories, leading to the rationale for a high level of diversity supported by both traditions.

A great deal of normative debate concerning the media revolves around journalism. This is primarily because many of the arguments that frame American notions of media freedom are based on the inherent value to society of the dissemination of factual information (Dahlgren, 1995; McQuail, 1998; Nerone, 1995; Picard, 1985). However, the communication of knowledge is not limited to news and public affairs programming, and ideas are conveyed in a multitude of ways beyond exposition. While an independent and strong fourth estate may be essential to democracy and American civil society, this does not absolve the rest of the media industry from responsibility for its contribution to the public sphere (Commisssion on the Freedom of the Press, 1947).

Consequently, this dissertation will concern perspectives that encompass the contribution to society made by media in general and television specifically.

Of central importance to an evaluation of the media is the concept of the public interest. This is an often inexact and contested concept, but it nonetheless will provide the foundation of our assessment of public television. As it applies to the mass media, an act in the public interest can be understood vaguely as an act that has a positive influence on contemporary society (McQuail, 1998). It is generally accepted that the media have the power to contribute to the public interest in a number of ways: by disseminating information, by educating the masses, and by providing forums for the exchange of ideas, arts, and culture. Consequently, it is expected that these benefits are provided in exchange for the freedoms the media enjoy (Blumler, 1998).

According to Held (1970), there are two main approaches from which to define the public interest. One is a majoritarian viewpoint, where the public is allowed to define for itself what is of importance, and it is the duty of the media to supply what the public wants. The other is an absolutist perspective, which bases its conception of the public interest on an ideology or set of values. The former tends to lead to a market-driven view of the responsibilities of the media, in which competition regulates performance. In this approach, a failure to the public interested is a failure to support the public interest. The absolutist viewpoint, however, holds that the masses do not always ask for what they need most. This leads toward a paternalistic view of the media where programming decisions are based on what is considered good for the audience, rather than what the audience wants. The two extremes might be seen as rival parents, one who gives the child no candy, the other nothing but.

McQuail and Siune (1998) pointed out that both of these approaches to media responsibility are present in American broadcast television. The high value placed on audience size in commercial broadcasting ensures, at least roughly, that less-popular programs are removed to make way for more-popular content. Nevertheless, programs are occasionally preempted for important government or safety messages, and limits to the amount of sexual and violent content is enforced by both internal network standards and the Federal Communications Commission. Indeed, numerous forces work on television to promote or restrict its content in various ways. For instance, audience members exert control through ratings, but also through activism—from letter-writing to organized pressure from interest groups. As the clients of broadcasters, advertisers (underwriters in public broadcasting) have a similar power, in that the necessity of their financial support gives them both direct and indirect influence on program creation. As previously mentioned, the government can require that licensed broadcasters provide certain types content as a public service, and it can also impose content restrictions based on broad guidelines such as the prohibition of material considered indecent. Internally, a media organization may impose content standards on itself as a way of averting negative reactions from external entities or as a way of promoting the professional values to which it adheres.

The creation of strict internal standards to avoid external regulation might well describe the media professionalism movement in the 20th century, and also the motivation for the articulation of social responsibility theory. Both of these phenomena were, in essence, responses to criticism of the media, particularly journalism (Blumler, 1992; Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; McQuail & Siune, 1998; Nerone, 1995).

The importance of journalism in the development of normative media theory cannot be overstated. The degree of freedom the media enjoy in America stems in large part from a libertarian tradition based on the "self-righting principle," a concept derived from the writings of John Milton, particularly *Aeropagitica* (1644). In essence, the argument for a lack of restrictions on the press (negative freedom) was that any limitation of the free exchange of ideas impedes the process of uncovering the truth. It is in the comparison of good ideas to bad that the former may be promoted and the latter discarded. Consequently, it is in the best interest of the public for all ideas, good and bad, to be exchanged. This concept was echoed by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in his dissent to a case testing the constitutionality of the 1918 Sedition Act: "The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." (Abrams v. United States, 1919).

This defense of media freedom, that the marketplace of ideas is self-regulating and should not be tampered with, is the foundation of libertarian media theory and is responsible for many of the freedoms enjoyed by the American media today. However, it is based on several assumptions that have proven problematic. The foremost of these is the misconception that, in the marketplace of the commercial media, the customers are the audience. Actually, audiences in this system are the commodity that advertisers purchase by sponsoring programs (McQuail, 1998). In this arrangement, a "good" idea, one that is supported by the transactions of the marketplace, is one that attracts a large audience—not necessarily one that would win an argument based on logic. This, in turn, reveals two more limitations of the marketplace. First, libertarian theory is quite optimistic in its assessment of the mass audience's ability and resolve to discern good

from bad. If an audience is moved to attend to (and thereby support) media content that, for example, advances ideas that are harmfully misleading, this endorsement is proof enough for the marketplace to label it "good." This is particularly dangerous in areas of content in which few of the audience members have the requisite knowledge to evaluate esoteric arguments. Further, the marketplace is likely to overwhelm the interests of minorities where they conflict with majority interests. Simply through its popularity, content that flatters the majority and supports the status quo may drown out content that challenges hegemony (Brown, 1996; McCann 2007).

From its origins, the majority of libertarian thought was based on the premise that the greatest threat to press freedom was the government (McQuail & Siune, 1998). Although the power of the majority to overwhelm the ideas of individuals was recognized, the direct material threat that the government presents in curtailing the freedoms of the media was the primary concern until the mid-20th century. It was perhaps the very success of libertarianism in the United States that led to excesses that fueled public concern and interest in heightened regulation of the media. The tendency of audiences to be drawn to and sometimes misled by sensational content, coupled with a fear of propaganda, led to a movement in the early part of the 20th century for government regulation to safeguard the public from the ill effects of the media. This movement to regulate the media was met with a corresponding movement to reform journalism internally through the publishing of professional standards and the creation of organizations to promote such standards (Blumler, 1992; Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947; McQuail, 1993; Nerone, 1995). In 1947, Henry Luce funded a private commission to look into the need for regulation of the media. Chaired by Chicago

University chancellor Robert Hutchins, it was popularly known as the Hutchins Commission. The publications of this group forged what is known as the social responsibility theory of the media (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956).

The basic premise of social responsibility theory is simple: the media must enjoy freedom and independence for the good of society, but with these freedoms come responsibilities to the public good and the democratic process (Commisssion on the Freedom of the Press, 1947; Nerone, 1995; Siebert et al., 1956). The media are expected to present the audience with reliable, accurate and relevant information, and are called on to remain objective. They must do no harm—they should not incite public disorder nor should they offend minorities (McQuail, 1993). Moreover, the Hutchins commission made it a point to state that it is the responsibility of the mass media to portray a realistic picture of the constituent groups in society (Commisssion on the Freedom of the Press, 1947). However, one might argue that, outside of news and public affairs programming, realistic portrayals may not be the goal—consider popular dramas about doctors, lawyers, and detectives, for example. Because programs may place a varying degree of value on realism, a more appropriate standard may be that the various social groups are portrayed similarly.

Diversity and Normative Theory of the Media

Diversity is, of course, a key component of the concept of the marketplace of ideas. Without the competition of many ideas and viewpoints, flawed opinions and falsehoods may go unchallenged, hindering progress and democracy (Bloustein, 1981; Glasser, 1984; Meiklejohn 1961; Napoli, 1999). Diversity has consequently been a

concern of policy makers and the courts and is an important concern in the First Amendment tradition. This section will consider diversity in detail, with an eye to its importance as a subject of interest in television.

Media diversity can be conceptualized in many ways, from the diversity of program formats on a television channel to the diversity of the ancestries of media company owners worldwide. The type of diversity most relevant to the marketplace of ideas is what Napoli (1999) referred to as idea-viewpoint diversity. Idea diversity refers to the amount of variety in the viewpoints represented in media content, and can therefore be considered one measure of that content's contribution to the marketplace of ideas. However, idea diversity is difficult to quantify, despite its relevance. Viewpoints can be conveyed in a television program in a multitude of ways, verbal and non-verbal, explicit and implied, intentional and unintentional, plot-driven and incidental. Meaning can be layered; symbols may carry more than one meaning, or may be presented with other symbols simultaneously. While Fico, Lacy, and Riffe (2008) point out that ideas, as conveyed symbolically, are measureable (and in fact are the stuff of media content analysis), this measurement requires careful operationalization. To examine a portion of content, researchers must lay upon it a meticulously-defined framework, and this act necessarily excludes some information from the analysis. For example, a well-performed analysis of the political biases found in the dialog of a situation comedy is unlikely to also include analyses of implied messages concerning family relationships, sexual attitudes, or the value of higher education. The results of such a study, demonstrating the level of variety in the political ideas conveyed in the program, cannot be mistaken for a measure of idea-viewpoint diversity, which is the variety found in the sum of all of the

viewpoints expressed in the program. The practical difficulties in assessing this sum, and in comparing programs of different format (e.g., news and comedy) led Napoli (1999) to declare it to be a "daunting task" (p. 24).

Many of the researchers proposing methods to measure idea diversity have done so by focusing on one type of viewpoint expressed in the content, and either explicitly or implicitly linking the diversity of viewpoints of the chosen type to overall idea diversity. For example, the Federal Communications Commission used the diversity of program types as an index of viewpoint diversity (Napoli, 1999), Ho and Quinn (2009) used the diversity of newspaper editorial reactions to Supreme Court decisions, and Rennhoff and Wilbur (2011) suggested a market-adjusted measure of topic selection in local television news. The relationship between any one measure of content diversity and the overall viewpoint diversity of any quantity of content is presumed, however, and lacks empirical support.

Scholars and policy makers tend to place primary importance on news and public affairs programming when discussing viewpoint diversity, but this misses other expressions of fact, opinion, attitude, and value concerning issues of public importance found throughout entertainment content (Cusack, 1984; Entman & Wildman, 1992). Consider, for example, the ideas conveyed about terrorism in *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* (Smithberg & Winstead, 1996) or in the Fox program *24* (Cochran & Surnow, 2001). Research has demonstrated that both learning and attitude change effects can be as lasting from fiction as from nonfiction (Green & Brock, 2000, 2002; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Strange & Leung, 1999), and the persuasive and educational powers of entertainment are well-documented (see Moyer-Gusé, 2008, for a review). As news

programs make up only about 10% of primetime viewership (The Nielsen Company, 2012), it seems unreasonable to limit viewpoint diversity analyses of a television channel to only that type of content.

A measure of the true viewpoint diversity of any quantity of media content would therefore require multiple analyses from a variety of academic perspectives and methods. The purpose of this discussion is not to develop a comprehensive measure of viewpoint diversity, but to emphasize the importance of analyzing media content using numerous conceptualizations of diversity with the knowledge that each contributes to the overall viewpoint diversity of the content.

Demographic diversity is one type of content diversity that is commonly referred to by scholars as an important area of study (Hoffman-Riem, 1987; Napoli, 1999; Roessler, 2007). In Napoli's (1999) taxonomy of diversity on television, he referred to demographic diversity as one of three dimensions of content diversity, the other two being program format diversity and idea-viewpoint diversity. Napoli offered no comment on a possible relationship between demographic and viewpoint diversity, and confined his discussion of demographic diversity to the quantity, rather than the quality, of the portrayals of various demographic groups. However, there is reason to believe that the diversity of social group portrayals, in both quantity and quality, is related to viewpoint diversity. Research in media effects has demonstrated that portrayals of various social groups on television can shape viewers' beliefs and attitudes about those groups and about social reality in general (Bandura, 2009; Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1994; Shrum, 2009). Much of human behavior, knowledge, and attitude is learned through observation (modeling), whether from direct

experience or from the mass media (Bandura, 2009). In fact, information and attitudes learned from models in the mass media may take on a heightened importance to the viewer whose personal experience does not extend to the topic of the mediated message (Bandura, 2009).

Demographic diversity on television may affect a viewer's observational learning of viewpoints in at least three ways. First, the mere presence or absence of social groups can affect how those groups are perceived. Social constructs, such as demographic groups or their attributes, are more likely to be recalled if they are prevalent in the viewer's experience because they are made "chronically accessible" to the viewer's cognitive processes by repetition (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). The accessibility of social constructs, in turn, contributes to the formation of beliefs about real world social objects (Shrum, 2009). Groups that appear frequently to the viewer are therefore more likely to be included in the processing of ideas than groups that appear rarely. Also, Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory suggests that viewers compare portrayals of their own social groups to portrayals of others in order to form beliefs about their own group's strength and importance (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). The simple quantity of appearances of a group can reflect its perceived status among other groups (Harwood & Roy, 2005). Second, portrayals of people in the mass media help to establish cultural norms (Dines & Humez, 2003). Critical/cultural studies scholars discuss the representation of social groups on television in terms of the creation and exchange of meaning (Hall, 1997; Kamalipour & Carilli, 1998). The cultural "shared meaning" encoded in mass media "texts" includes information about what is normal for different groups, including behaviors, social roles, status, and power (Dines & Humez, 2003). Meaning is never

fixed, however, and can be altered through the same processes with which it was created—including representations in the mass media (Hall, 1997). Empirical studies appear to bear this out: exposure to modeling of stereotypical or non-stereotypical behaviors in the media can reinforce or mitigate stereotypical beliefs in viewers (Bandura, 2009; O'Bryant & Corder-Bolz, 1978; Ochman 1996; Thompson & Zerbinos 1997; Ward & Friedman, 2006). Third, a model's similarity to the viewer tends to influence his or her attention to and retention of the content (Bandura, 1994; Kazdin, 1974; Schunk, 1987). Consequently, the demographic diversity of a television program may affect how efficiently its viewpoints are received by different segments of the audience. This third influence of demographic diversity on viewpoint learning differs from the previous two in that it may moderate the process of viewpoint communication, while the others represent the types of viewpoints that can be communicated.

Seen in this light, an argument can be made that diversity in the quantity and quality of portrayals of social groups on television is an important part of viewpoint diversity, and it is therefore a component to the medium's contribution of viewpoints to the marketplace of ideas. A robust demographic diversity can then be an expected service of the mass media in return for their freedoms. This sentiment was well articulated by the Hutchins commission:

> Responsible performance here simply means that the images repeated and emphasized be such as are in total representative of the social group as it is. The truth about any social group, though it should not exclude its weaknesses and vices, includes also recognition of its values, its aspirations, and its common humanity. The Commission holds to the faith that if people are exposed to the inner truth of the life of a particular group, they will gradually build up respect for and understanding of it. (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947).

Of course, much of television programming comes in the form of fantasy, where realism may not be the goal. The "truth" communicated by these programs may be in the form of an altered depiction of reality, to some degree idealized or dystopian, that communicates the creative vision. In such a case, a realistic portrayal may not be the best possible standard for the quality of the portrayals of social groups. Consequently, the benchmark of acceptable portrayals for this study will be equality; to satisfy the requirements of demographic diversity, social groups should be portrayed at approximately equivalent levels of occupational prestige, prominence, and story function.

When trying to determine an acceptable level of representation, two often-conflicting values should be considered: *openness* and *fairness* (McQuail & Van Cuilenberg, 1983). The fairness ideal requires the media to be proportionately reflective of society. This would, however, reinforce the power of the ideas and tastes of the majority and thereby limit the exposure the audience has to viewpoints that differ from the status quo. It would also mean that very small minorities would be nearly invisible to the audience, making issues important to them difficult to bring to mass attention. On the other hand, an approach seeking openness would try to give each social group equal access to all media channels. For example, this value is sometimes applied in geographic areas where social-group language differences require that multiple channels are required for all sources to have access to equivalent services (McQuail, 1998). However, not only is the radical application of this value —where every social group and every political viewpoint is allotted an equal amount of the media landscape—impractical, it also means that the majority is vastly underrepresented. Nevertheless, it is usually through the exposure of minority viewpoints that social change begins (Van Cuilenberg, 1999).

As these two values have a dialectical relationship, a middle ground must be sought. It is not unreasonable to set a proportional reflection of society as the minimum requirement for diversity—in fact, most media systems are better at fairness than at equality (Van Cuilenberg, 1999). While minority groups encroach upon the proportional representation of the majority as their representation increases, it may be worth the cost; there is greater danger to the public interest in a lack of challenges to majority beliefs than in an abundance of them (Bloustein, 1981; Glasser, 1984; Meiklejohn, 1961; Milton, 1644). Since demographic diversity contributes to viewpoint diversity and should therefore be encouraged, this study will interpret fair demographic representation as the minimum requirement of satisfactory delivery of that component of viewpoint diversity.

Public Television and the Public Interest

As envisioned by the first Carnegie commission and the Public Broadcasting Act (1967), public broadcasting would be an alternative to commercial broadcasting (Avery, 2007; Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting, 1979; Ouellette & Lewis, 2000; Public Broadcasting Act, 1967). The perceived need for a noncommercial broadcasting entity to supply "all that is of human interest and importance which is not at the moment appropriate or available for support by advertising'' (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967) can be traced back to FCC Chairman Newton Minow's (1961) indictment at the television industry as a "vast wasteland" (Ouellette & Lewis, 2000). Public broadcasting, as described in the Carnegie plan (1967), would serve the public interest by offering programming that commercial networks could not produce due to the financial pressures to maintain large audiences (Goldin, 1967). In addition to offering public television as a platform for arts, cultural, and public affairs programming

that might not otherwise be televised, the commission also described public television as a stage for minority groups (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967). Its mission was to be an entity "responsive to the interests of people both in particular localities and throughout the United States, and which will constitute an expression of diversity and excellence" (Public Broadcasting Act, 1967). While the establishment of an independent television system that acted in the public interest did not absolve commercial stations of their social responsibilities (FCC, 1980), public television was looked to as a "corrective cultural supplement" (Ouellette, 2002) that provided programming which would create "a forum for controversy and debate," to "provide a voice for groups in the community that may otherwise be unheard," and to "help us see America whole, in all its diversity" (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967).

In other words, part of public television's original mission was to increase the level of demographic and viewpoint diversity available to American television audiences. For this reason, and because PBS continues to refer to both types of diversity as PBS values (PBS, 2012c; PBS 2012d), the diversity in PBS' content can be considered to reflect (in part) the success of the service in its function of contributing to the public interest. Further, if PBS is still expected to be a *corrective* source of diversity that makes up for the shortcomings of the commercial system (Avery, 2007; Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967; Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting, 1979; Ouellette, 2002) then it is not unreasonable to expect women and minorities to be overrepresented on public television if they are underrepresented in commercial networks, and likewise to be portrayed with more nuance than they are on

commercial television. To begin to evaluate the system's performance as a corrective source of diversity, we will first examine the previous studies on this topic.

Previous Analyses of Diversity on Television

In the early days of the national public television system, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting commissioned a report on the status of women in public broadcasting that turned up some disappointing results (Cantor, 1977). Men outnumbered women nearly six to one, and were much more likely to be portrayed in an occupational role than women were. These findings were similar to those of a study of commercial television by Reinhard in 1980. A 1977 CPB-commissioned report on race in public television had findings similar to the report on gender—fewer than 27 percent of stations were found to carry a program that was by and about a minority group (Berkman, 1980). This has improved over time, but not a great deal; in 1995, Kubey and Shifflet found that viewers were more than twice as likely to encounter a male on public television than a female. They found the proportion of women to be lower on PBS than on network and cable channels. They also found that public television represented racial diversity slightly better than the networks and cable, but still failed to match the population's minority proportions.

Regarding commercial television, studies have demonstrated that most ethnic groups have been underrepresented in commercial television as well. The trend has been for increasing representation of some groups, but not all (see Greenberg, Mastro & Brand, 2002, for a review). African Americans have reached a level of representation on

network television greater than their portion of the U.S. population.[2] However, scholars point out that the types of roles given to people of different backgrounds vary a great deal. For instance, Heintz-Knowles & Henderson (2004) showed that 54% of African Americans on prime time network television were cast in comedies. Latinos were unlikely to be shown as professionals (11%),[3] less so than people of Middle-Eastern descent, nearly half of whom (46%) were cast as criminals.[4] Signorielli and Bacue (1999) conducted a 30-year review of the representation of women on commercial network prime time broadcasts. While their results show that portrayals of women on television have been increasing in number and prestige, women in the 1990s were still underrepresented and less respected than men.

Mastro (2009) offers the following generalizations about the representation of racial and ethnic groups on commercial television. Whites and Blacks are overrepresented. The average Black person on television is a middle-class male, professional and nonaggressive. In the news, Blacks and Whites appear approximately the same amount except in crime stories, where Blacks are more likely to be a criminal and less likely to be a victim (this is not an accurate depiction of real world crime reports). Latinos are underrepresented on commercial television by at least half. When they do appear, they are often portrayed as lazy, inarticulate, seductively dressed and unintelligent. Asians make up only about two percent of primetime network television characters, and usually occupy secondary or minor roles. They are most often portrayed

[2] The U.S. Census (2010) states that African Americans make up approximately 13% of the population, while Heintz-Knowles and Henderson (2004) place their representation at 16% of all prime time characters and 18% of all characters who appear in the opening credits.

[3] Asian/Pacific Islanders: 37%; Whites: 32%; African Americans: 26% (Children Now, 2003).

[4] Asian/Pacific Islanders: 15%; African Americans: 10%; Whites: 5% (Children Now, 2003).

in high-prestige occupations. Native Americans make up less than one percent of characters, and are often depicted in stereotypical roles, such a spiritual leader or a warrior.

Unfortunately, the data regarding the demographic diversity of public television content are dated and incomplete. However, what we know about the treatment of various social groups may act as a guide to what might be expected from a public service whose mission is to compensate for the limitations of the commercial television system. First, it is clear that the quality of a group's representation is not monolithic—Blacks, for example, are frequently portrayed as non-aggressive, but they are also frequently depicted as the perpetrators of crimes (Mastro, 2009). Each group is associated with any number of stereotypical attributes, some positive and some negative. If the intended purpose of public television is to compensate for prominent stereotypical portrayals on commercial television, then regarding social group stereotypes the service would be most effective when countering these portrayals, whether positive or negative. However, the intent of a television program is not always realism, and therefore one should not look for portrayals that match the real world. Instead, those interested in the portrayals of women and minorities should ensure that, however characters are portrayed—heroic, villainous, kind, selfish, weak, or strong—there are not systematic differences based on social group membership. The achievement of this goal would not only satisfy the compensatory purpose of public television by offering content that does not rely on stereotypes, it would also answer the call to reflect "American society in all its diversity" (Carnegie Commision on Educaitonal Television, 1967), and to fulfill its responsibility to tell the

truth about any social group, omitting neither its best nor its worst aspects (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947).

Demographic diversity can be assessed in a multitude of ways; in order to make a judgment regarding the level of diversity to be found on a segment of content, multiple analyses are necessary. Unfortunately, public television has been largely ignored in this area of study, and there are not excessive amounts of data or analyses. The next chapter will discuss how this dissertation will begin to fill the gap surrounding demographic diversity on public television.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

> We who have the pleasure and the privilege to work in public television should be held accountable for everything we do... every dime we spend... every decision — programming, editorial and otherwise — we make (Lehrer, 2005).

In the previous chapter, demographic diversity was established as a component of viewpoint diversity, which is essential to a functioning marketplace of ideas. Public television was identified as an attempt by policy-makers to compensate for the perceived failure of commercial networks to act in the public interest, and its stated goals concerning demographic diversity were discussed. This chapter will describe the procedure used in this dissertation and the content considered, define key terms and concepts, detail the variables of interest, and describe how the data was analyzed.

This dissertation examined the representation of ethnic, gender, and racial social groups on public television. To do so, it consisted of a quantitative content analysis of the national primetime schedule of PBS. A representative sample of 2011 PBS programming was examined for ethnicity, gender, race, story function, number of appearances, occupation, and several other variables.

Procedure of the Present Study

The following procedure was based on previous studies of television content and on the pretesting of 15 hours of PBS content. After the initial creation of the codebook,

five days of primetime PBS content from December 2010 were used by a single coder to adapt the categories for public television fare. Most notably, the prevalence of nonfiction content on public television required alteration of the categories developed by Heintz-Knowles and Henderson (2004) for both role type and occupation. Also, Harwood and Anderson (2002) used a five-point Likert scale to rate the positivity of story function, with one representing very negative, three representing neutral, and five representing very positive. To limit inconsistent coding between extreme and moderate positivity or negativity, this study revised the measure to be categorical, where a character is simply positive, neutral, or negative.

Coder Training

Three undergraduate students were hired and trained as coders. Each was trained in the key concepts and coding procedures. After coders were trained and comfortable with the material, intercoder reliability was assessed based on four programs drawn from 2012. First, the number of characters identified was evaluated for inter-coder reliability using Krippendorff's alpha ($\alpha = 0.95$.) One hundred twenty-six characters were identified as common to all coders, 61 of which were then evaluated for agreement using, again, Krippendorff's alpha. Areas of low agreement ($\alpha < 0.80$) were reviewed with the coders and the clarifications of the protocol were based on these discussions. Coders then re-coded the remaining 65 cases and achieved an acceptable level of agreement on all but three of the measures. Two of them, Marital Status ($\alpha = 0.27$) and Sexual Orientation ($\alpha = 0.31$) were discussed again with the coders for clarification, but modifications to the protocol were not made. The third, occupation, was altered to include a more reliable taxonomy, described in more detail below. This resulted in the refinement of the coding

protocol. The results of the reliability measurements for each variable are displayed in Chapter 4. The coding protocol and coding sheet are attached as Appendix I.

Key Concepts and Definitions

This dissertation is concerned with ethnic, gender, and racial diversity of public television content in 2011. Consequently, the relevant content universe is all prime time public television programming content in the United States from that time period. To generalize to this population, a random sample of national prime-time PBS programming from the year 2011 was drawn.

Sampling units. The recording (coding) units for this dissertation were individual programs. Each program was viewed in its entirety. Based on scholarship regarding sampling for content analyses (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005), a representative sample was drawn from 2011 (Jan – Dec). Four of each of the days of the week were randomly selected from the year, and prime time hours from each of these days were included in the sample. Saturdays were excluded from the analysis, as PBS does not publish a national schedule for that day. The entire sample consisted of 75 hours of total content. In instances where PBS did not program nationally and left programming to local stations, no program was coded. A complete list of considered programs is attached as Appendix II. Programming content was retrieved from producers of programs in the form of VHS or DVD "screeners," or viewed online.

Analysis units. The units of analysis for this dissertation were the people appearing in each program, defined as "characters." This study operationalized a "character" as someone with a speaking part on the program who was both seen and

heard. To be considered seen, his or her face had to be clearly identifiable in at least one shot. To be considered heard, his or her voice had to be clearly and individually heard or his or her communication had to be translated to speech or subtitle.

Variables

This section will describe the measures the coders took of the content, beginning with program-specific measures and then moving on to individual (character) measures. In addition to information regarding characters within programs, characteristics of the programs themselves may be useful to analyze. For example, it may be helpful to see how social groups are represented in various genres, or with various program start times. Heintz-Knowles and Henderson (2004), for example, found that racially diverse casts were more frequently found in programs aired at 10 p.m. than in those aired at 8 p.m. on network broadcasts. Broad descriptive characteristics of each program were recorded as follows.

Genre. PBS has designated 10 content genres, into which each program falls. These are: Arts & Cultural, Children's, Cultural Documentary, Daily News Coverage, Drama, History, News & Public Affairs, Science/Nature, Other/How-to/Travel and Performance. These categories are defined by the Public Broadcasting Service, and each program on the primetime schedule is assigned to one of the categories. PBS agreed to identify the genre of each program in the study.

Program start time and program length. It has been shown that the gender and racial makeup of television programs can vary over time, even during the three-hour

period of prime time. For this reason, the program start times and lengths (in minutes) were recorded to compare public television content to this finding.

Rating and Content Warnings. The FCC has outlined ratings and content labels to describe the intended audience and content of each program. This information appears in the first 15 seconds of each program, usually in a corner of the screen. Ratings range from TV-Y, considered suitable for all children, to TV-MA, containing content that is suitable for adults only. Additionally, programs often carry specific content warnings, such as for coarse language and sexual situations. It should be noted that not all public television content is rated.

Most of the measurements made will center on the characteristics of people seen and heard in the sample. Individuals in each program will be assigned a unique identifier, named, and coded as follows:

Characters. As one of the key units to this dissertation, it is important to note that "characters" here included actors from fictional programs as well as reporters, sources, and hosts from nonfiction programs. Characters were defined as individuals who were both recognizably seen and heard during the course of the program.

The exception to this rule was in the case of a *subject*. At times, programs represented a character through illustration or reenactment. This was most often in a nonfiction program, as with a biographical film about a historical figure of whom no voice recordings exist. Any individual who appeared in this way was considered a character.

Characters on the sampled programs were coded by a number of categories, listed below. Each of these categories included a value for *unknown*.

Role type. Individuals in each recurring program were classified by his or her status within the program by the following guidelines:

In nonfiction programs, characters were first separated into two categories: *reporter/host* and *source*. Anyone associated with the program itself was considered a reporter/host, while those people who appeared to supply specific information (e.g. eye-witnesses, experts, etc.) were considered sources.

Especially in news and public affairs programming, clips of newscasts or talk shows are sometimes played. In such a case, the characters in question were coded as they would be in the excerpted program. Anchors of excerpted news programs were categorized as reporter/hosts, while characters from excerpted fictional programs were categorized as outlined below. In live entertainment, performers, managers, etc., were considered hosts, while audience members, critics, etc., were considered sources.

In fiction programs, characters were separated into *main title* and *secondary* categories. Those characters whose names or faces appeared in the main titles of the program—including guest stars—were considered appreciably important, and were therefore categorized as main title. Other characters were categorized as secondary.

Characters were also coded as *subjects*. Subjects were people discussed in fiction or nonfiction programs and who were visually represented, but who do not have speaking roles. Note that these roles were mutually exclusive. For example, if someone was the subject of a documentary, but his or her voice was heard, he or she was not coded as a

subject, but as a source. Even though the host of a nonfiction program may have appeared in the main titles, he or she was still coded as a reporter/host.

Appearances. An important variable in this study is the number of appearances of each character in each program. This is a count of shots in which the character's face was clearly, visibly identifiable. For example, a character lost in a crowd shot or shot from behind was not coded as having an appearance in that shot. Shots in which a character was heard but not seen were not counted as appearances.

Age. Age was defined by physical appearance, contextual cues or self-description. Coders were asked to estimate age in years.

Gender. Gender was considered a straightforward variable, based on sexual appearance and contextual cues, but not necessarily on biology. All individuals were classified as male or female; transgender individuals were coded as the gender that they appeared to have chosen. Cross-gender costuming for (humorous or other) effect was not interpreted as transgenderism.

Race. Characters were coded as a member of a race, as identified by the program context, physical appearance, or behavior. Contextual cues include individual self-report within the program as well as situational cues (a program may feature an individual in a context that leads the viewer to ascribe to him or her a particular race. Racial categories were based on previous television studies (e.g. Heintz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004) and demographic proportion data from the 2010 U.S. Census. They included African-American/Black, East Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, Middle Eastern, multiracial (specific), South Asian and White .

Ethnicity. Each character's sociolinguistic group was coded as a separate item, and limited to membership in the sociolinguistic Hispanic/Latino group. This was to avoid confusion regarding racial and linguistic groups.

Citizenship. National citizenship was defined by the clear identification or evidence that the character was a non-U.S. citizen or the lack thereof. U.S. citizenship was presumed absent evidence that the character was a foreign national.

Marital status. Marital status was defined by membership in six categories: *single*, *married/in a domestic partnership*, *divorced*, *mixed* (within the program), *widowed* and *not applicable* (e.g. a child) as was most appropriate in the context of the program. Because the primary interest regarding this category was in the portrayal of the romantic relationships of different social groups, legal marriage was not an important consideration. Couples in long-term romantic relationships were considered married, and the termination of those relationships was considered divorce or separation.

Disability. Disability was defined as the obvious presence of a permanent physical or mental disability. If the disability was not obvious or declared in context, it was counted as no disability. Characters with severe physical or mental illnesses (i.e. they impaired normal activity) were considered disabled for the purposes of this study. A category for characters with both physical and mental disabilities was also included.

Addiction. The presence of an addiction was coded only if an obvious declared or contextual cue was presented in the program that indicated that the character had an addiction. The three categories of this variable were *none*, *active addict*, and *recovering addict*.

Sexual orientation. This variable was defined by three simple categories: *straight*, *gay/lesbian/bisexual* and *unknown*. Coding was based on self-identification in the program or by contextual cues such as sexual behavior. Although transgenderism is often associated with sexual orientation, this is primarily a social and political association, and this study considers transgenderism better included in the gender variable.

Occupation. The original taxonomy of occupations, based on Heintz-Knowles & Henderson (2004), led to low coder agreement. During training, the codebook was changed to make use of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ILO, 1990), a publication of the United Nations International Labor Office. These categories, shown to be quite thorough and reliable (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003), carry the added benefit of also having been assigned values on the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (Treiman, 1977) by Ganzeboom and Treiman in 2003. The SIOPS prestige ratings have been shown to be remarkably reliable in occupational prestige surveys, comparable across national borders, and stable over time (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003). While many social science researchers have moved away from occupational prestige ratings toward socio-economic status indicators, the latter were not appropriate for this study as they rely on information such as income and marital status which is mostly unavailable for characters in this sample. Perhaps more importantly, however, while socio-economic status may be a valuable tool in other contexts, the present study is concerned with prestige only, and therefore the general perception of status conferred by a job is the most appropriate measure.

Story function. Each character's function in the story was defined by a single three-level item that assessed whether the character affected the main story of the

program in a positive, neutral, or negative way. In nonfiction programs, the telling of the story (e.g. the reporter's investigation) is sometimes a major part of the plot. In this case, a source who contributes significantly to the investigation (for instance, a whistle-blower) may be coded as having a positive function. In cases where characters contribute both positive and negative acts to the story, he or she was coded as to the balance—for example, do the good outweigh the bad (positive), or do they cancel each other out (neutral)?

Data Analysis

A response to Hypothesis 1, regarding the overall representation of social groups on the PBS national schedule, was generated by comparing the portion of characters in the sample belonging to each group with the corresponding portion of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a).

To see what significant differences in occupational prestige may exist between groups, a two-way analysis of variance was planned, using gender and race as fixed factors. A separate t test was planned for ethnicity, as it was expected that several race categories would have no Hispanic characters.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that some social groups will be featured more prominently than others. To determine a measure of the prominence of a character, two analyses were planned. The first examined the number of times a character appeared, and the second examined the character's role on the program.

To assess the visibility of a character in his or her program, a new variable, *prominence*, was calculated using the number of appearances coded for that character divided by the duration of the program (in minutes) to compensate for the varying length of programs by creating an appearances-per-minute index. A two-way analysis of

variance was used to test for differences among gender and race groups in prominence. An independent samples t test was proposed to test for mean differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

To compare role allocation, characters were first divided into fiction and nonfiction groups. Cross tabulations would then be performed between ethnic, gender, and race groups and the fiction and nonfiction groups separately. It was presumed that the roles of reporter/host and main title can be considered especially high in prestige, as they represent an important investment in the individual by the program creators. Source, secondary and subject roles are not necessarily low in prestige, but they tend to be less prominent than the other two categories—with the exception that, in nonfiction programs, an entire program may be centered around a historical subject.

A response to research question 1, regarding the story function of characters, was planned to be reached via a cross tabulation of story function with each social group. Significant differences were to be tested with chi-square tests.

To compensate for familywise error, all of the above tests included a Bonferroni-Holm adjustment of p values.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

> Billions of signals rush over the ocean floor and fly above the clouds. Radio and television fill the air with sound. Satellites hurl messages thousands of miles in a matter of seconds. Today our problem is not making miracles—but managing miracles. We might well ponder a different question: What hath man wrought—and how will man use his inventions? The law that I will sign shortly offers one answer to that question (Johnson, 2005).

Chapter 3 outlined a method of collecting and analyzing information on the representation of women and minorities on the PBS national schedule from a representative sample of the 2011 primetime schedule. This chapter will describe the findings of the data collection and subsequent analyses. First it will offer a short description of the programs studied and the individuals found therein. Then it will describe the major findings and analyses germane to the hypotheses and research question advanced in Chapter 1. It will then describe several additional analyses that may shed light on the topic at hand. Finally, it will summarize the most important findings at the end of the chapter.

Sample description

Seventy-three programs were examined from the PBS primetime schedule in 2011, totaling 75 program hours. Thirteen programs were one half-hour in length, 49 were one-hour programs, and the remaining 11 were feature-length—five 90-minute

films and six two-hour programs. The overwhelming majority of programs (94.5%) were nonfiction, and very few carried content warnings. The descriptive characteristics of the programs themselves are displayed in Table 1.

Sixteen (21.9%) shows were "one-offs," programs that were not a part of a series. All of these were nonfiction and half were live-to-tape performances. Twelve (16.4%) shows were showcase programs, where a single program is presented by a series. For example, all of the dramas in the sample were feature-length films or mini-series episodes presented by *Masterpiece*, an ongoing series that presents this type of content. The largest portion of the sample (45 shows, or 61.6%) was made up of recurring series such as *Antiques Roadshow, NOVA* and *Washington Week.* Because each program was coded separately, a recurring character in a series was counted as a new character for each episode. The character counts, then, are a reflection of the total number of appearances, not the total number of people.

The largest portion of the schedule was given to science and nature shows, followed by news and public affairs shows and those that fall in the other/how-to category. The 13 programs in this category consisted of one awards program, three episodes of *This Old House* and nine episodes of *Antiques Roadshow*. Children's programming and the nightly news were not represented because they were not broadcast during prime time. The majority of shows were not rated, but 11 (15%) carried some caution for parents, including a PG or PG-14 rating or a content label for violence, language or sexual situations.

Intercoder reliability

Characters were defined as people whose voices and faces could be individually distinguished—not necessarily at the same time. To determine the number of cases required to test intercoder reliability, Lacy, Riffe, and Fico (2005) recommended manipulating the formula for standard error to achieve a chosen level of confidence. Based on the total number of programs (N =73) and an estimate of agreement of 90%, it was determined that 43 programs would be required to test reliability of character identification for the sample. All coders were asked to identify the characters in these programs, and the total number of characters for each story was compared, resulting in a Krippendorff's alpha of 0.97.

The sample yielded 1,752 characters. Based on the total number of content units (N =1,752) and an estimate of agreement of 90%, it was determined that 96 cases would be required to test reliability of the variables of interest at a 95% confidence level. Ninety-six characters were randomly selected to test the intercoder agreement on all coded variables. Table 2 displays the resulting alphas. For those items on which agreement was below 0.85 but above 0.80, 39 additional cases were coded and re-tested for reliability to ensure that the agreement could be generalized to the entire sample.

Programs in the sample had, on average, 37 characters (SD = 19.8). Basic demographic information about the characters coded is displayed in Table 3.

Also, the apparent age of the characters was coded. Table 4 describes the mean age of the characters in the sample sorted by the social groups of interest to this dissertation. Valid scores numbered 1,674, ranging from 2 to 93. The mean age was 47.4 (SD = 14.9), the median 48. The distribution was skewed (skewness = -0.344, SE skewness = 0.060) and leptokurtic (kurtosis = 0.223, SE kurtosis = 0.120).

Table 1

Types of Programs in the Sample

Program	*n*	Percent
Premiere		
New	37	50.7
Repeat	36	49.3
Content		
Fiction	4	5.5
Nonfiction	69	94.5
Genre		
Cultural documentary	7	9.6
Arts and culture	1	1.4
News and public affairs	13	17.8
Children's program	0	0.0
History	10	13.7
Daily news	0	0.0
Science/Nature	19	26.0
Other/How-to/Travel	13	17.8
Drama	4	5.5
Performance	6	8.2
Rating		
TV-G	13	17.8
TV-Y	0	0.0
TV-Y7	0	0.0
TV-PG	5	6.8
TV-14	1	1.4
TV-MA	0	0.0
TV-NR	52	71.2
Warnings		
Violence (V)	3	4.1
Sexual situations (S)	2	2.7
Coarse language (C)	2	2.7
Suggestive dialog (D)	0	0.0
Fantasy violence (FV)	0	0.0
None	67	91.8
Total	73	

Table 2

Intercoder Agreement on the Variables of Interest

Variable	α
Age[a]	0.84
Appearances	0.89
Role	0.85
Gender	1.00
Race	0.85
Ethnicity	0.86
U.S Citizen[a]	0.81
Marital status	0.20
Disability	1.00
Addiction	1.00
Sexual Orientation	0.34
Occupation[a]	0.82
Story Function	0.86

[a]Calculated with 135 cases to ensure a proper reliability sample size for a 95% confidence interval.

were unequal, homogeneity of variance was deemed to make an analysis of variance inappropriate and a non-parametric test was used to compare male and female age scores. Age was dummy coded based on the mean (47.44), where scores at or above the mean were considered high (1) and those below the mean were considered low (0). A Pearson chi-square test of the cross tabulation between these age categories and gender revealed a small but significant difference χ^2 (1, n = 1275) = 12.625, $p < 0.001$, $\Phi = -0.10$, where 58.7% of males were above the mean age, and 51.7% of females were below the mean age.

Comparing ethnicity groups, non-Hispanics (n = 1237) drastically outnumbered Hispanics (n =10). Shapiro-Wilk tests revealed a non-normal distribution for non-Hispanics, W (634) = 0.989, $p < 0.001$, whose age distribution was negatively skewed (skewness = -0.361, *SE* skewness = 0.07). A nonparametric Levene's test for

homogeneity of variances showed no significant difference in the variance of the two groups. Due to the unequal cell sizes and the skewness of the non-Hispanic distribution,

Table 3

Descriptive Attributes of Characters in the Sample

Variable	*n*	Percent
Role		
Nonfiction		
Reporter/Host	266	15.9
Source	1164	69.9
Subject	219	13.1
Total nonfiction	1665	100.0
Fiction		
Main title	31	36.0
Secondary	54	62.8
Subject	1	1.2
Total fiction	86	100
Citizenship		
U.S.	1333	76.2
Non-U.S.	281	16.1
Unknown	136	7.8
Obvious disability		
Permanent physical	10	0.6
Permanent mental	1	0.1
Both	0	0.0
Marital status		
Single	20	1.1
Married/partnership	136	7.8
Separated or divorced	9	0.5
Widowed	6	0.3
Mixed (w/in program)	4	0.2
N/A or unknown	1575	90.0
Addiction		
Current addict	1	0.1
Recovering addict	1	0.1
Sexual orientation		
Gay, lesbian or bisexual	8	0.5
Heterosexual	155	8.9
Unknown	1587	90.7
Total	1752	

Table 4

Mean Character Ages for Social Groups of Interest.

Characters	*n*	*M*	*SD*	χ^2
Gender				
Female	437	47.1	14.8	12.6*
Male	898	49.3	14.3	
Ethnicity				
Hispanic/Latino	10	32.6	17.2	-**
Non-Hispanic/Latino	1237	48.9	14.4	
Race				
Non-White	66	43.4	11.7	6.1*
White	1190	49.0	14.5	
Total				

* $p < 0.05$. **Fisher's Exact Test $p < 0.025$.

a cross tabulation was conducted using the dummy-coded age categories, but one cell (25%) had an expected count less than five, making the Pearson chi-square test inappropriate. Fisher's exact test showed a significant difference between ethnicity groups, $p < 0.025$, such that 55.9% of non-Hispanics were at or above the mean age, and 80.0% of Hispanics were below the mean age.

Racial groups were simplified due to the low count of most racial groups coded as U.S. citizens. For the remaining tests, racial groups were consolidated to White and non-White (including Blacks and Asians.) White characters ($n = 1190$) heavily outnumbered non-White characters ($n = 66$). Shapiro-Wilk tests for normality showed a non-normal distribution of age scores for Whites, $W(605) = 0.989$, $p < 0.001$. The age distribution for White characters was positively skewed (skewness = 0.363, *SE* skewness = 0.071). The age distribution of non-White characters was negatively skewed (skewness = -0.749, *SE* skewness = 0.295) and leptokurtic (kurtosis = 1.354, *SE* kurtosis = 0.582). A

nonparametric Levene's test for homogeneity of variances showed a significant difference in the variances of White and non-White age score distributions. A cross tabulation of race and age categories showed a significant difference between groups χ^2 $(1, n = 1256) = 6.067, p < 0.017, \Phi = -0.07$, where 56% of White characters were at or above the mean age and 59% of non-White characters were below the mean age.

Findings

Hypothesis 1 predicted that White, African-American and male characters would be overrepresented in the sample of PBS programming, while women, Hispanics, and other minorities would be underrepresented. Table 5 compares the percent of the sampled population of characters with the percentage of each social group according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010a). Column four excludes those characters coded as non-U.S. citizens. The exclusion of non-U.S. citizens increases the presence of Whites, while it removed all characters coded as Middle Eastern, Native American and South Asian. Chi-square Goodness-of-fit tests were performed for each group, revealing significant differences between expected and observed values of gender $\chi^2 (1, n = 1333) = 164.58, p < 0.05$, ethnicity $\chi^2 (1, n = 1305) = 164.27, p < 0.05$, and race (White or non-White groups), $\chi^2 (7, n = 1319) = 278.43, p < 0.05$, such that males (67.0%), non-Hispanics (93.3%) and Whites (90.5%) were all overrepresented.

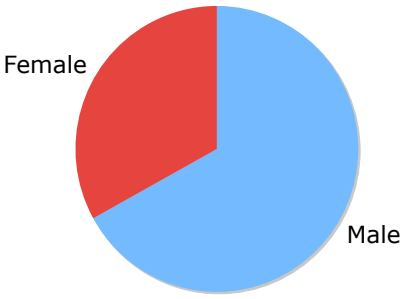
Table 5

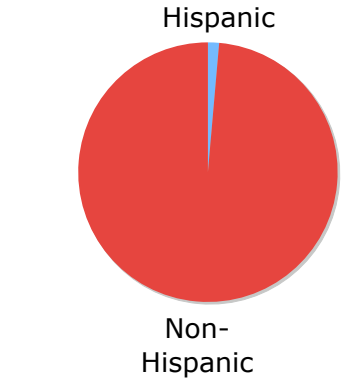
Social Group Membership in the Sample and in the U.S. Population

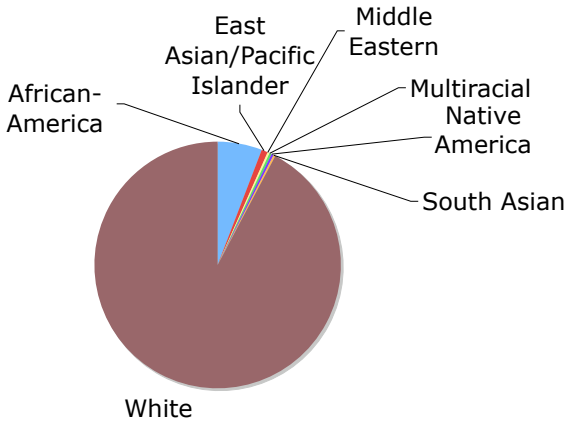
Characters	*n*	%	*n* U.S. Only	% U.S. Only	% U.S. Population	χ^2
Gender						
Female	584	33.4	443	33.2	50.8	164.58
Male	1165	66.6	890	66.8	49.2	
Ethnicity						
Hispanic/Latino	44	2.5	10	0.8	12.5	
Non-Hispanic/Latino	1633	93.3	1295	97.1	87.5	164.27
Don't know	73	4.2	28	2.1	-	
Race						
African-American/Black	85	4.9	65	4.9	12.6	
East Asian/Pacific Islander	25	1.4	6	0.5	3.0	
Middle Eastern	58	3.3	0	0.0	4.0	
Multiracial (specific)	5	0.3	5	0.4	2.9	278.43
Native American	1	0.0	0	0.0	0.9	
South Asian	7	0.4	0	0.0	0.6	
White	1502	85.8	1243	93.2	72.4	
Unknown	67	3.8	14	1.1	-	
Total	1750	100	1333	100		

Figure 2. Comparison of the sample to the U.S. Census

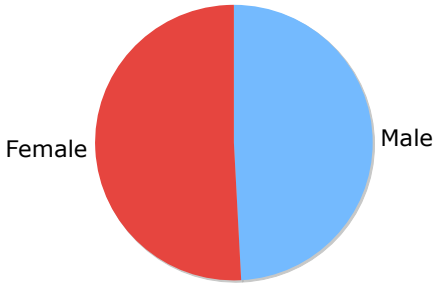
PBS prime time 2011

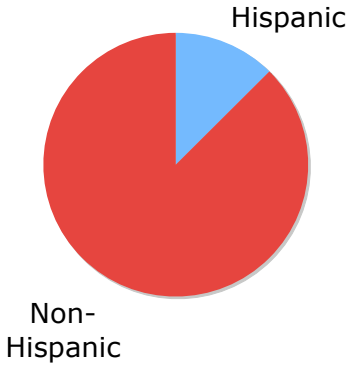


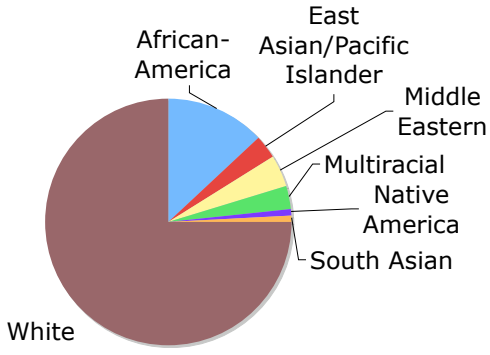




U.S. Census 2010







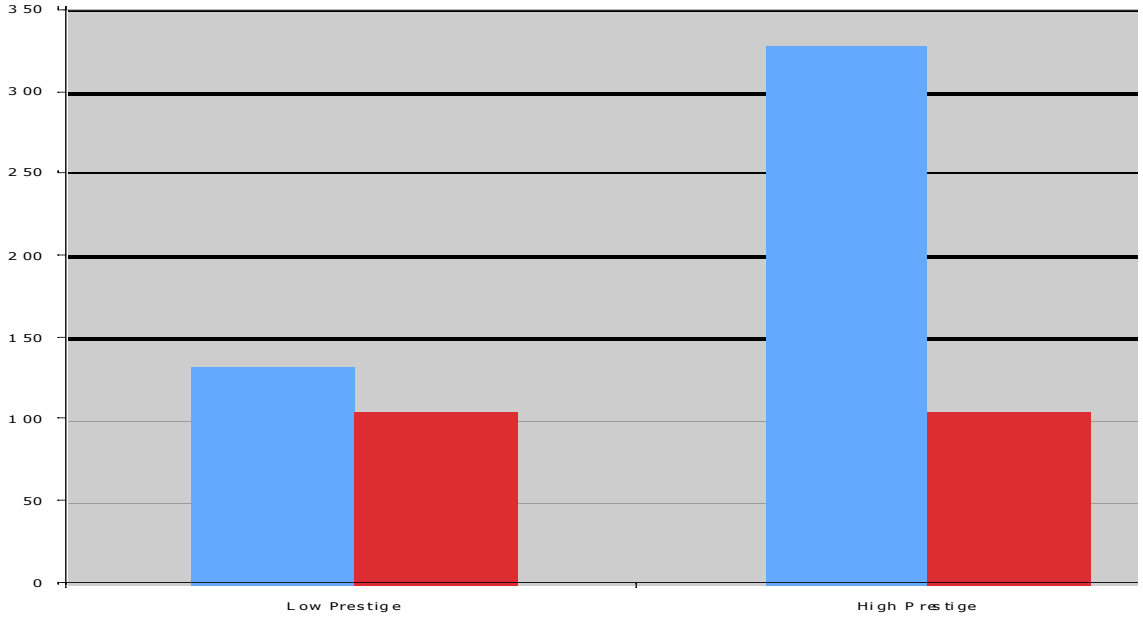
Hypothesis 2 predicted that Asian, White, male and non-Hispanic characters would be found to have, on average, higher-status occupations than characters of other ethnic, gender, and racial groups. Characters were coded according to the United Nations International Labor Office (ILO) International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). From these occupation codes, each character was then assigned a prestige value according to the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS), developed by Treiman in 1977 and updated by Ganzeboom and Treiman in 1996 and 2003 (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 2003). Krippendorff's alpha for coder agreement was 0.82 on more than the required number of cases for a confidence interval of 95%.

To test Hypothesis 2, a between-groups comparison of SIOPS scores was performed. SIOPS scores ranged from 21 to 78 with a mean of 56.03 (SD = 13.59). The distribution was examined for normality and outliers. The skewness of 0.004 (SE of skewness =0.080) was within acceptable levels, but the kurtosis of -0.346 (SE of kurtosis = 0.161) had a z score exceeding |1.96|, which suggested that it was too platykurtic to be considered approximately normal.

Gender groups were of unequal sizes, with male characters (n = 455) outnumbering female characters (n = 210). Shapiro-Wilk tests showed a non-normal distribution for males, W (444) = 0.850, $p < 0.001$, and females, W (208) = 0.857, $p <$ 0.001. SIOPS scores for female characters were positively skewed (skewness = 0.497, SE skewness = 0.168). A nonparametric Levene's test for homogeneity of variance showed that the variances were significantly different, F (1) = 12.243, $p < .001$. Because cell sizes were unequal, homogeneity of variance was deemed to make an analysis of variance inappropriate and a nonparametric test was performed. SIOPS was dummy-

coded to low (1) and high (2) values based on the mean (56.0); those scores below the mean were considered low, and those at the mean or above were considered high. A cross tabulation was conducted on gender and SIOPS. A Pearson chi-square test revealed a small but significant difference in cell counts, χ^2 (1, n = 673) = 27.975, p < 0.001 (α/3 = 0.017), Φ = -0.20, such that 71.1% of male characters were in high prestige occupations, whereas 50.0% of women were in high prestige occupations. Figure 3 displays the differences in SIOPS scores between gender groups.

Figure 3. Gender and Occupational Prestige



Cell counts were also unequal for ethnicity groups; non-Hispanic characters (n = 647) vastly outnumbered Hispanic characters (n = 6). Shapiro-Wilk tests showed non-normal distributions for non-Hispanics, W (634) = 0.860, p < .001, whose SIOPS scores were positively skewed (skewness = 0.217, SE = 0.096) and platykurtic (kurtosis = =0.398, SE kurtosis = 0.197). A nonparametric Levene's test for homogeneity of variance showed a significant difference in the variance of the two distributions F (1) =

4.307, $p < 0.05$. Because cell sizes were unequal, homogeneity of variance was deemed to make an analysis of variance inappropriate and a nonparametric test was used. A cross tabulation was conducted on ethnicity and the dummy-coded SIOPS categories. Cell counts were too low for a Pearson chi-square test of ethnicity, but Fisher's exact test found a significant difference between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, $p < 0.025$. Most non- Hispanic characters (64.8%) had high-prestige occupations, and most Hispanic (83.3%) characters had low-prestige occupations. However, the strength of the relationship was small, $\Phi = -0.10$ and the cell counts for Hispanic characters so low that this cross tabulation should be considered inconclusive.

White characters ($n = 616$) outnumbered non-White characters ($n = 36$). Shapiro-Wilk tests for normality showed non-normal distributions for Whites, $W(605) = 0.859$, $p < 0.001$, and non-Whites, $W(34) = 0.863$, $p = 0.001$. The SIOPS score distribution was positively skewed for White characters (skewness = 0.209, $SE = 0.098$). However, visual examination of histograms and Q-Q plots for both groups showed approximately normal distributions. Because the skewness for the White group distribution was rather small and a nonparametric Levene's test of homogeneity of variances showed no significant difference between group variances $F(1) = 0.47$, $p = 0.494$, a t test was performed on SIOPS scores for White and non-White groups. It showed no significant difference between means, $t(650) = -0.451$, $p = 0.652$. A cross tabulation of race and the dummy-coded SIOPS was also conducted, and a Pearson chi-square test showed no significant difference between cells, $\chi^2(1, n = 659) = 0.246$, $p = 0.620$.

To test Hypothesis 3, which predicted that White, male and non-Hispanic characters would be more prominent, a between-groups comparison of prominence scores

was performed. Prominence scores ranged from 0.00 to 9.75 with a mean of 0.300 (*SD* = 0.624). The distribution was examined for normality and outliers. It was extremely skewed (skewness = 6.223, *SE* skewness = 0.058, *z* = 107.293) and extremely leptokurtic (kurtosis = 57.452, *SE* kurtosis = 0.117, *z* = 491.043).

Table 6

Gender, Ethnicity, and Race in High and Low Prestige Occupations

	Low Prestige		High Prestige				
	n	%	*n*	%	Total	%	χ^2
Gender							
Male	134	28.9	329	71.1	463	68.8	27.98*
Female	105	50.0	105	50.0	210	31.2	
Total	239		434		673	100	
Ethnicity							
Non-Hispanic	230	35.2	424	64.8	654	99.1	-**
Hispanic	5	83.3	1	16.7	6	0.9	
Total	235		425		660	100	
Race							
White	217	34.8	406	65.2	623	94.5	0.62
Non-White	14	38.9	22	61.1	36	5.5	
Total	231		428		659	100	

* $p < 0.05$. **Fisher's exact test $p < 0.025$.

Males (*n* = 890) again outnumbered females (*n* = 443). Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated non-normal distributions for males, W (890) = 0.467, $p < 0.001$ and females, W (443) = 0.508, $p < 0.001$. Cells were positively skewed and leptokurtic for both males (skewness = 5.649, *SE* skewness = 0.082, kurtosis = 45.213, *SE* kurtosis = 0.164) and females (skewness = 4.440, *SE* skewness = 0.116, kurtosis = 24.786, *SE* kurtosis = 0.231). Nonparametric Levene's tests for homogeneity of variance showed no significant difference between the variance of the prominence distribution of the gender groups, *F* (1) = 0.156, *p* = 0.693. Non-Hispanics (1295) vastly outnumbered Hispanics (*n* = 10), and Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated non-normal distribution in prominence scores for non-

Hispanics, W (1295) = 0.473, $p < 0.001$, and Hispanics, W (10) = 0.630, $p < 0.001$. The cells were positively skewed (Hispanics: skewness = 1.876, *SE* skewness = 0.685; non-Hispanics: skewness = 5.508, *SE* skewness = 0.068) and very leptokurtic (Hispanics: kurtosis = 2.395, *SE* kurtosis = 1.334; non-Hispanics: kurtosis = 42.915, *SE* kurtosis = 0.136). Nonparametric Levene's tests for homogeneity of variance showed no significant difference between the variance of the prominence score distributions of non-Hispanics and Hispanics, F (1) = 0.683, $p = 0.409$. Whites (n = 1243) outnumbered non-Whites (n = 71). Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated non-normality in Whites, W (1243) = 0.465, $p < 0.001$, and non-Whites W (71) = 0.550, $p < 0.001$. Cells were positively skewed (Whites: skewness = 5.626, *SE* skewness = 0.069; non-Whites: skewness = 2.986, *SE* skewness = 0.570) and leptokurtic (Whites: kurtosis = 44.239, *SE* kurtosis = 0.139; non-Whites: kurtosis = 8.932, *SE* kurtosis = 0.563).

Because of the extreme skewness and kurtosis of the cells, prominence scores were transformed using a Log10 function. The resulting distribution ranged from -2.08 to 0.99 with a mean of -0.9308 (*SD* = 0.588). The distribution was skewed (skewness = 0.154, *SE* skewness = 0.059) and platykurtic (kurtosis = -0.394, *SE* kurtosis = 0.117), but on visual inspection of the histogram and Q-Q plot, it appeared to approximate a normal distribution.

The transformed prominence score distributions were platykurtic for males (kurtosis = -0.487, *SE* kurtosis = 0.164) and females (kurtosis = -0.682, *SE* kurtosis = 0.231), and Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated non-normal disributions for both groups (males: W (890) = 0.977, $p < 0.001$; females: W (443) = 0.954, $p < 0.001$). However, the groups were no longer significantly skewed, and the histograms and Q-Q plots for both groups

appeared approximately normal. Levene's test for equality of variance was not significant.

The transformed prominence scores of the race groups were not skewed (Whites: skewness = 0.013, *SE* skewness = 0.069; non-Whites: skewness = 0.347, *SE* skewness = 0.285). The White score distribution was platykurtic (kurtosis = -0.556, *SE* kurtosis = 0.139), but the non-White distribution did not significantly deviate from normal kurtosis (kurtosis = -0.383, *SE* kurtosis = 0.563). Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated a non-normal distribution for Whites, W (1243) = 0.970, $p < 0.001$, but not for non-Whites, W (71) = 0.966, $p = 0.053$. Levene's test for equality of variances was not significant.

The transformed scores of the ethnicity groups were no longer skewed (non-Hispanic: skewness = 0.030, *SE* skewness = 0.068; Hispanic: skewness = 0.782, *SE* skewness = 0.687). The non-Hispanic cell was platykurtic (kurtosis = -0.564, *SE* kurtosis = 0.136), but the Hispanic cell was not (kurtosis, -0.509, *SE* kurtosis = 1.334). Shapiro-Wilk tess indicated a non-normal distribution for non-Hispanics, W (1295) = 0.971, $p < 0.001$, but not for Hispanics, W (10) = 0.904, $p = 0.244$. The histograms and Q-Q plots of both group distributions appeared approximately normal. Levene's test for equality of variance was not significant. The transformed prominence scores were subjected to a two-way analysis of variance tests. The first had two levels of gender (male, female) and two levels of race (White, non-White). The resulting model was non-significant, $F(3) = 1.455$, $p = 0.225$. The second had two levels of gender (male, female) and two levels of ethnicity (non-Hispanic, Hispanic). This model was also non-significant, $F(3) = 0.617$, $p = 0.604$.

One more statistical test was completed to examine the stature of the social

groups in question. Characters were coded as reporter/host, source, or subject for nonfiction programs and main title, secondary or subject for fictional programs. Cases were split into separate variables containing only values for fiction or nonfiction, and cross tabulations were conducted with ethnic, gender, and race groups. As with previous cross tabulations, the significance of Pearson chi-square tests was examined using the Bonferroni-Holm method to compensate for familywise error.

In fictional programs, no characters were coded as U.S. citizens. A cross tabulation was performed on non-U.S. citizen characters, but no statistically significant difference in cell counts was found for ethnicity (there were no Hispanic fictional characters), gender, χ^2 (2, n = 86) = 1.032, p = 0.597 or race, where two cells (50%) had minimum expected values of less than five. Fisher's Exact Test did not reveal a significant difference between cell counts, p = 0.668. There were no Asian characters in fiction programs.

In nonfiction programs, no significant difference was found for ethnicity, χ^2 (2, n = 1305) = 1.179, p = 0.554, or race, χ^2 (2, n = 1314) = 3.482, p = 0.481. A statistical significance was found for gender in nonfiction programs, χ^2 (2, n = 1333) = 39.604, p < 0.001, with a small relationship strength (Φ = 0.17). Adjusted residuals show that more female characters than expected appeared as sources, while more males than expected were used as host/reporters and subjects. The cell counts and percentages for this cross tabulation are displayed in Table 7. Women were also found to be more likely to appear in nonfiction programs than in fiction programs, χ^2 (1, n = 1749) = 11.219, p = 0.001, but the strength of the relationship was trivial (Φ =.08).

The research question asked what relationship might exist between story function

and ethnic, gender, or racial group membership. Cross tabulation revealed no significant

Table 7

*Roles Filled by Female and Male Characters in Non-fiction Programs**

	Host/Reporter		Source		Subject			
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	Total	%
Female	65	12.0	435	80.6	40	7.4	540	32.8
Male	201	18.1	728	65.7	179	16.2	1108	67.2
Total	266	16.1	1163	70.6	219	13.3	1677	100

*$p < 0.05$.

differences between cells for race, χ^2 (4, n = 1313) = 1.509, $p > 0.025$, ethnicity, χ^2 (2, n =1304) = 7.213, $p > 0.017$ or gender, χ^2 (2, n = 1332) = 0.701, $p > 0.05$, when corrected for multiple comparisons with the Bonferroni-Holm correction.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the data collection and analyses regarding ethnic, gender, and racial diversity on the primetime content of the PBS national schedule in 2011. This section will recap the most important results. Chapter 5 will discuss the meaning of these findings and where we might go from here.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that some social groups would be represented in the sample of the PBS primetime schedule equivalently to their segments of the U.S. population, while other social groups would be underrepresented. The hypothesis received partial support in that Whites, non-Hispanics and men were clearly overrepresented. African-Americans, Asians, Hispanics Middle Easterners, Native Americans and Women were underrepresented. H1a was partially supported, and H1b and H1c were supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that Asian, male, non-Hispanic and White characters would be found to have higher-status occupations than other social groups. Male characters were found to have a significant tendency toward higher-status occupations than women and non-Hispanic characters had a significant tendency toward higher-status occupations than Hispanics. However, the cell counts for Hispanics were so low that this finding was inconclusive. Therefore, H2a was not supported, H2b was inconclusive and H2c was supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that male, non-Hispanic and White characters would be found to be more prominent than characters of other groups. Two measures were used to evaluate this hypothesis. First, character prominence was compared between groups, but no significant difference was found. Second, the number of characters in different role types was compared across ethnic, gender, and racial groups separately for fiction and nonfiction programs. A statistical test was not possible for Hispanic characters in fiction programs because none of the 86 fictional characters were Hispanic. A small but significant difference was found between male and female characters in nonfiction programs, such that women were more likely than men to appear as sources, while men were more likely than women to appear as either host/reporters or subjects. Therefore, H3a and H3b were not supported, but H3c was supported.

Research question 1 asked what relationship existed, if any, between a character's membership in one of the social groups in this study and his or her story function. No significant differences in story function could be demonstrated between the social groups in question.

Chapter 5 will interpret these findings in more detail and make recommendations

for further research and for professional considerations.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions, Discussion & Recommendations

> In another 15 years, I hope there won't be stations that say, "We already have one black host or one Latino show, so we don't need another." Fifteen years from now, I hope that I won't have to explain what the letters P-B-S or N-P-R or P-R-I stand for; that "diversity" is no longer a word that makes people cringe; and that "elite" can no longer be used to describe public broadcasting. Ultimately, in 15 years I hope to stumble across this commentary and say to myself, "My, how things have changed" (Smiley, 2006).

There is, as yet, no definitive measure of demographic diversity that encompasses the quantity and quality with which the many overlapping segments of our society are represented in the media. Those who wish to assess the diversity in a segment of content can only collect as much data as possible, use multiple methods of analysis, and make an educated judgment. This dissertation is intended to facilitate those judgments about public television with some critical data and analyses. The research reported in this dissertation indicates that while the prominence, story function, and occupational prestige of minorities on public television are not significantly different from non-Hispanic Whites, the PBS national primetime schedule falls far short of proportional representation of these groups. Also, the portrayal of women on PBS is especially in need of improvement.

It is important to remember that inferences can only be drawn to the 2011 national PBS primetime schedule, and not to any particular station or any particular program.

There are many kinds of diversity, many different ways of evaluating how one social group or another is portrayed, and many different types of group into which a population might be divided. The social groups and portrayal variables coded in this study were selected as important aspects of demographic diversity, but by no means should they be taken as comprehensive.

One of the most important limitations of this study is that, despite the fact that it included more than 1700 characters, so few members of most racial groups were found that meaningful analysis of their portrayal was not possible, and they were instead combined into the uninformative amalgam "non-White." U.S. Hispanics, too, were so poorly represented (n = 10) that it is difficult to generalize the findings about ethnicity with confidence.

Within these bounds, the findings of this dissertation do shed light on the portrayal of women and minorities on primetime PBS. They are encouraging and disappointing, surprising and culturally relevant. This chapter first summarizes the previous chapters, and then draws conclusions from the results of data collection and analysis. A discussion of the ramifications of the results is offered, and recommendations are made for both practitioners and researchers.

Summary

The previous chapters submitted the representation of women and minorities on public television as a subject worthy of consideration, outlined a method by which it might be initially explored, and described the results of data collection and analyses. This section will briefly review the most important elements in this work, beginning with the introduction and the statement of the problem. It will then discuss the formal

hypotheses and research question, and the theoretical perspectives considered. It will outline the method used, and discuss the analyses applied to the collected data.

Purpose. This project focused on two problems. First, there is a dearth of information regarding the representation of women and minorities on public television. Second, there needs to be a normative framework from which we might evaluate public television's performance in its service to American society.

Regarding the first problem, a great deal of the research on ethnic, gender, or racial diversity on television is confined to studies of major networks (see Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2000, for a review). Those few studies that have included public television are dated or do not examine the national PBS schedule, perhaps the most commonly carried group of public television programs in the nation. The representation of ethnic, gender, and racial groups on television is a frequent topic of public debate, and should perhaps be considered especially important for a channel funded by the public. Federal funding of public television is also a frequent source of heated debate, and this leads to the question of what the institution accomplishes, which can be answered, in part, by a discussion of its content. Demographic diversity is an important constituent of this assessment.

Regarding the second problem, public television shares the social responsibilities that may arguably be associated with any media organization. According to social responsibility theory (Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1947), two of those responsibilities are the realistic portrayal of all segments of society and the presentation of a diversity of viewpoints. Further, these two same goals were articulated in the planning documents of public television (Carnegie Commission on Educational television, 1967; Public Television Act, 1967; see also Ouelette, 2000; Avery, 2007), and

are still a part of its stated values (PBS, 2012c; PBS 2012d). Therefore, an assessment of PBS' performance on demographic diversity is an important part of an evaluation of its service to society and the fulfillment of its mission. In the interest of evaluating its findings regarding the first problem, this dissertation explored the importance of social group diversity in the media with special attention to its implications for public television.

Hypotheses and Research Question. Three hypotheses and one research question were proposed in Chapter 1, each divided into three sub-hypotheses and questions. This section will briefly synopsize each one.

Because of the sparse research on diversity on public television, Hypothesis 1 was primarily based on previous research concerning ethnic, gender, and racial diversity on commercial networks (e.g. Heinz-Knowles & Henderson, 2004; Henderson, 2004; Mastro, 2009). This hypothesis concerned the percent of characters belonging to each social group of interest in the sample of the PBS national schedule as compared to its representation in the U.S. population. Hypothesis H1a predicted that Blacks, Asians, and Whites would all be represented at least proportionally to their segment of the U.S. population. Hypothesis H1b predicted that the representations of Hispanics, Middle-Easterners, Native Americans and South Asians would be smaller than their portions of the U.S. populations. Hypothesis H1c predicted that women would be underrepresented compared to their portion of the U.S. population.

Based on U.S. Census data and Heintz-Knowles and Henderson (2004), Hypothesis 2 makes predictions about the prestige of the occupations held by characters in the sample. Hypothesis 2a predicted that Asian and White characters would have more prestigious jobs than characters of other races. Hypothesis 2b predicted that non-

Hispanic characters would have more prestigious jobs than Hispanic characters, and Hypothesis 2c predicted that men would have more prestigious jobs than women.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that some groups would be featured more prominently than other groups. Based on previous research on commercial networks, H3a predicted that White characters would be featured more prominently than characters of other racial groups. Similarly, H3b predicted that non-Hispanic characters would be featured more prominently than Hispanic characters, and H3c predicted that male characters would be featured more prominently than female characters.

Research question one asked what the relationship was between a character's social group and his or her story function, defined as the overall positive or negative influence the character had on the plot of the story. Research question 1a asked about racial groups, question RQ1b asked about ethnic groups, and question RQ1c asked about gender groups.

Literature review. Chapter 2 was written with two objectives. The first goal was to establish the importance of demographic diversity within the framework of normative media theory and to articulate the intended role of public television as an American media entity. The second was to establish a minimum basis for ethnic, gender, and racial diversity on public television.

Toward the first goal, the dissertation articulated the requirement of the media to serve the public interest, upon which most media theories are based, including the libertarian and social responsibility approaches (McQuail, 1998; Nerone, 1995). Both of these normative traditions hold that media must be free to participate in a marketplace of ideas, but social responsibility theory emphasizes the reciprocal requirement that in return for this freedom the media must also contribute to the public good (Hutchins, 1947;

Siebert et al., 1956). Public television can be seen as a community effort to positively influence the contribution of the medium of television toward the public good (Commission on Educational Television, 1967; Public Broadcasting Act, 1967).

Part of the good that the public expects from the media is a diversity of content, of which demographic diversity in one constituent (Napoli, 1999). It was argued in this dissertation that the diversity of social group participation influences the diversity of viewpoints on a channel. Viewpoint diversity is an essential part of the concept of the marketplace of ideas and its influence on democracy (Entman & Wildman, 1992; Napoli, 1999). However, even if this were not the case, there is sufficient evidence in social science literature to justify high levels of diversity, given the negative effects associated with minimal or negative representation (see Greenberg, Mastro, and Brand, 2002, for a review).

Two ideals of demographic diversity, fairness and openness, were considered. Fairness requires every social group to be represented according to its portion of the population, thereby reinforcing the status quo. Openness, on the other hand, requires that every social group be given equal representation. Commercial broadcasting in the United States is not well suited to provide open diversity (Brown, 1996; Levin, 1980; Rothenberg, 1962; Van Cuilenberg, 1999). Public television was intended to compensate for the perceived failings of commercial television (Avery, 2007; Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting, 1979; Ouelette, 2002)–ideally, the channel would garner interest in minority-themed programs to the point that this type of content would be spread to other channels (Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 1967), or at the very least would represent an "oasis in the wasteland" (CPB, 1992), a destination to find diversity unavailable elsewhere. This dissertation suggests that the minimum

requirements of demographic diversity for public television should be fair representation and equivalence of portrayals.

Method. To address the hypotheses and research question, a representative sample of primetime programming was selected from the national PBS schedule and coded for several aspects of representation and portrayal. Seventy-three programs were randomly selected to represent the year 2011, totaling approximately 75 hours of content. Programs were coded for descriptive characteristics such as fiction/nonfiction, duration, genre, and MPAA rating.

The units of analysis were characters, defined as individuals who were distinguishable both visually and verbally. Characters were coded for ethnicity (Hispanic or non-Hispanic), gender (male or female), and race (Black, East Asian/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, Multi-racial, Native American, South Asian or White). They were also coded for approximate age, U.S. citizenship, disability, marital status, addiction, sexual orientation, and program role. This last was subdivided into categories for main title characters, secondary characters and subjects for fiction and reporter/hosts, sources, and subjects for nonfiction programs.

Coders were trained and intercoder reliability was tested before the sample was coded. After testing showed a low Krippendorff's alpha score for occupation during testing, the protocol was changed to use the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) developed by Treiman (1977) and developed to match the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ILO, 1988). An acceptable level of intercoder reliability was then established for SIOPS.

Results. Seventy-five program hours were randomly selected from the national PBS primetime schedule. More than 94% of the programs were nonfiction, and most fell

into the genres of science/nature, history, and other/how-to/travel. Very few contained content warnings.

One thousand, seven hundred fifty-two characters were coded. This group had a mean age of 48 (valid n = 1,674, SD = 14.87). It was approximately 67% male, 93% White, and 97% non-Hispanic. Blacks made up 5% of the characters who were U.S. citizens, Asians made up less than 1%, and there were no Middle-Easterners, South Asians or Native Americans. Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests revealed significant differences in the proportions of the social groups between the sample and the U.S. population.

A small but significant difference was found among cell counts of the cross tabulation of gender with SIOPS scores (dummy coded to high and low), such that men were more likely than women to have a high-prestige occupation, and for ethnicity, such that non-Hispanics were more likely to have high-prestige occupations than Hispanics. The cell sizes for ethnicity were so low, however, that this difference was inconclusive. No significant difference was found for race.

A cross-tabulation of the dummy-coded (high and low) prominence index and race showed no significant difference in the cell counts for ethnicity, gender, or race groups. Similarly, no significant difference in story function was found in the cell counts for ethnicity, gender, or race. However, men were significantly more likely to be cast as reporter/hosts and subjects than women.

Conclusions

This section will present inferences drawn from the results of data analysis. It will begin with conclusions regarding the hypotheses and research question, and then

synthesize these to generalize about social group diversity on the PBS national primetime schedule.

In evaluating the representation of social groups in the sample, another note on the corrective role intended for public television is necessary. It seems unlikely that a true compensation for a lack of diversity on other channels was the intent of the creators of public television; the idea that one channel could over-represent minorities to the point that, across all channels, all groups would be proportionately represented, is impractical. However, the existence of a channel that offers diverse portrayals of a wide variety of minorities would fulfill the goals of providing a platform to those who never or seldom have one and of providing a destination for those viewers who seek something different from the common fare. If this is the goal of public television, then it is especially important that minority groups are portrayed at least as well as the majority groups and women are portrayed at least as well as men; it is not necessarily the case that all groups should be portrayed realistically outside of news and public affairs programming, but it should be the case that all groups should attain an approximately even level of positivity.

Regarding the amount of representation, this sample suggests that the population of characters on the primetime PBS national schedule is overwhelmingly White, male and non-Hispanic. Every social group coded in the study was underrepresented with the exception of Whites, non-Hispanics and males, many to less than half of their portion of the U.S. population.

It is important to remember that representation decreased for every social group except Blacks and Whites when only characters who were U.S. citizens were considered. While diversity through international coverage is important, it is not a focus of this study and it does not represent the American social groups of concern here. The importance of

social group diversity outlined in Chapter 2 emphasizes the public benefit of providing a platform for members of marginalized groups in American society. The ethnicities and races around the world do not represent those in the United States. While an examination of international diversity is no doubt important and would certainly affect viewpoint diversity, that is not within the scope of the current study.

Regarding the manner of representation of racial and ethnic groups in this sample, no significant differences were found between the cell counts of any of the social groups in terms of story function, meaning that the contribution of each character to the story, for good or ill, was independent of his or her race or ethnicity (or gender). Similarly, once a member of a minority appeared on a program, he or she was featured no more or less prominently than those characters of other racial or ethnic groups, nor was he or she more or less likely to hold a high-prestige occupation.

However, women were poorly represented in terms of both prominence and occupational prestige. While women were no more likely to be found in low status occupations than in high status positions, the fact that men were much more likely to be in high prestige occupations reveals an inequality in the treatment of the two genders. Also, the program roles reporter/host and subject can be accorded a sizable degree of prestige in nonfiction programs because they represent an investment of resources by the program producers. Here again, men were more likely to be cast in these roles, while women were more likely to be cast as sources.

To briefly summarize, the sample suggests that women and minorities are grossly underrepresented on the PBS national primetime schedule. While most minorities appear to be treated fairly in terms of story function, prominence, and occupational prestige once

they do appear, the status of women seems to be particularly low even when they make it to the screen.

Discussion

This section will serve as a forum in which the findings and conclusions can be related to the purposes of the study and the findings of other studies. It will also serve as an opportunity to broaden the scope of the discussion to political and cultural forces at work in America, and to raise questions.

Before entering into recommendations, one consideration of the above conclusions should be noted: a large majority (94.5%) of the programs coded were nonfiction, which brings about a different meaning to the conclusions drawn about their representation. For the most part, characters in these programs were not cast as a drama is cast, where several people belonging to various social groups may be contending for a single role. Nor were the characters' roles and attributes written for them. The characters in the sample were, for the most part, real people being portrayed according to the journalistic standards of PBS. This is not to say, however, that choices were not made. People are represented in nonfiction stories as the storytellers see fit, which means that the individuals who write, produce and approve nonfiction programs are responsible for how the stories they tell represent reality. Perhaps more influential is the fact that the selection of a topic or a program type may have far-reaching effects in terms of the kinds of characters who are represented therein. For example, 2.2% of the characters who appeared on the *Antiques Roadshow* programs in the sample were Black, and one character (0.2%) was Hispanic. One might ask why this is the case, but regardless of the reasons for the demographic makeup of characters on any one program, programs on the

PBS national schedule are presumably chosen carefully. If some (or most) of those programs are overwhelmingly White, non-Hispanic and male, the more pertinent question is why this is allowed to be. Certainly one might ask whether a very White program like *Antiques Roadshow* ought to be scheduled as heavily as it is (10.7% of the sample, second only to NOVA, 13.3%). These kinds of programming choices have an impact on the demographic diversity of the schedule, and PBS is no less responsible for these programs simply because they are nonfiction.

Another note regarding nonfiction programs: men were more likely than women to be hosts, reporters and subjects in nonfiction programs, and were more likely to appear with high-prestige occupations. An argument can be made that nonfiction shows—particularly those concerned with current events—are limited by the reality about which they report. If an important story involves the U.S. Congress, it is not the producer's fault that the institution is more than 80% male (Congressional Research Service, 2012). Still, if this were the sole reason for the inequity, one might ask why significant differences in role prominence and occupational prestige were not found between ethnic or racial groups. It appears that women alone are subjected to unequal portrayals in the sample, although there are not enough data on some minority groups to sufficiently evaluate their treatment. Regardless of comparisons with minority groups, however, the author hopes that the data revealing the treatment of women in this dissertation's sample will prove sufficiently appalling to spark action.

There are two important ways in which those making programming decisions can make a difference. The first is a responsibility to ensure that the program types and topics covered are of and about women and minorities. The second is the selection of a

diverse group of reporters and program hosts—this, perhaps more than anything, is within the control of program producers, and it is within the power of a service such as PBS to encourage producers to hire women and minorities. This was, of course, one of the stated goals of the CPB Diversity and Innovation Fund (CPB, 2010).

Recommendations

This section provides recommendations based on the findings and conclusions of the study. They will consist of both practical and research-oriented suggestions.

Recommendations from the study. This dissertation set fair representation, in which social groups appear in the same proportion as in the U.S. population, as a minimum standard of demographic diversity. However, if public television is to act in a compensatory role against the failings of the commercial broadcast system, it needs to go beyond fair representation and toward open representation. The degree to which minority groups and women are overrepresented may be seen as a measure of public television's success in introducing demographic diversity into the television landscape. Open diversity, where every social group is represented equally, may not be an achievable goal, but it has an enormous practical value as an ideal if public television is to fulfill its promise.

Unfortunately, the minimum standard of diversity was clearly not achieved, and this should be a topic of concern to industry professionals and policy makers. On the other hand, the overall even-handedness with which minorities were portrayed speaks well to the mission of PBS and its role in American broadcasting, even if a great deal of work needs to be done in terms of the portrayal of women. The primary practical recommendation of this dissertation is that the level of representation of women and minorities be raised above proportional representation.

The causes of the dearth of women and ethnic and racial minorities on the PBS national primetime schedule are beyond the scope of this study, but there are two obvious areas that can be seen as opportunities for improvement. The first is the encouragement of the production of programming that promotes diversity. Mission-based underwriting funds may want to expand their efforts to support programs for, by or about women and minorities. The CPB initiated the Diversity and Innovation Fund in 2010 with that purpose in mind. Funds will be disbursed through 2012, and the effects of the initiative may be seen in the following years; observation of the fruits of this investment may serve as a guide to similar large-scale projects to insert diversity into the public media system. The second important route to improve diversity is through programming decisions. The importance of primetime television broadcast endures despite the proliferation of alternate channels and video platforms, and this part of the PBS schedule is a key element to any effort to encourage demographic diversity on the channel. In addition to encouraging the production of programs that offer a platform for women and minorities, these groups also should be supported by providing air time during prime viewing hours.

Policy makers should be cautioned against being too heavy-handed when seeking to encourage diversity on public television. Independence is as important to this channel as to any other, and perhaps more so if PBS is intended to check undesirable forces in the rest of the broadcasting landscape. Rather than setting rules about content, it would be advisable to create programs that encourage stations and distribution entities like PBS to carry more diverse programming and enable this change with corresponding funding streams.

One way to do this might be to seek a new funding model that does not approximate the commercial model. Many authors have pointed out that the true

weakness of American public television is a lack of permanent funding (Aufderhide, 1996; Brown, 1996; Godmilow, 1993; Ledbetter, 1997; Ouelette, 1997). It is possible that, if public television were free from its need for large audiences on the one hand and from its fear of political attacks on its funding on the other, it might live up to what filmmaker Jill Godmilow calls a truly public medium:

> To be public, public television would have to be messy — not well-pressed. It would have to be lively and exuberant--a home-grown, sometimes elegant, always fresh expression of the most vital elements in the community. It would have to be the site of public discourse and disorder — controversial and healing. It could be playful and absurd at times, but it always would be hotter than anything around. (1993)

Recommendations for further study. The work has barely begun. Public television is a staggeringly complicated system, and there are many other approaches to the issue of diversity on its broadcasts that need to be pursued. More social group categories should be studied, and more attributes need to be measured. There is a great deal of variety in the program schedules of the stations around the country, and each of these has multiple channels. PBS and its member stations have streaming video available on the Internet and mobile devices, and the amount of local content available in various technologies differs from market to market. Additionally, many public television programs include outreach components that engage with community members in various ways. All of these phenomena deserve attention from the perspective of demographic diversity.

More comparisons are needed as well. Extending the method of this dissertation to commercial networks would allow researchers to look at how public television fares in the larger landscape of televised content, and would add a broader answer to the question as to whether it is fulfilling its role. But even within the public television world, a great

deal of study is required to get a full picture of the representation of women and minorities. Locally-produced programming makes up a sizeable portion of many stations' schedules, and these are, of course, tailored to their audiences. As the portions of social groups vary among markets, broadcasts of the local stations may vary accordingly. Possible differences in representation may exist between independent stations and those that are part of statewide networks or that use programming services. Many markets have more than one public television station, and the relationship between the primary and secondary stations within markets could be explored in terms of demographic diversity.

Also, the current study takes a representative sample of only one year. A multi-year study is needed for a wider perspective, one that can tell us what may be changing over time. This is particularly important in the light of the CPB Diversity and Innovation Fund, a major investment of public money to achieve greater diversity on public television. A multi-year study may also raise the total number of characters coded such that those belonging to the smallest minorities may not need to be dropped from analyses due to low cell counts.

From a theoretical standpoint, the development of a more detailed set of expectations for public television in America based on normative theory might be of great benefit to scholars, practitioners and policy makers alike. This theory of public broadcasting would take into account the mission and origins of public television, but from an independent standpoint. It would be able to establish benchmarks that the entire industry would be able to use to evaluate the institution's performance. It is possible that a good amount of the disagreement over the content and funding of public television is due to the lack of common agreement as to its purpose. While the development of a

clear, detailed set of guidelines may not solve this problem, its introduction into the marketplace of ideas may nudge the ongoing wrangle in the right direction. Principles concerning demographic diversity are only a small part of this effort, but in the culture in which we live, with its myriad groups and sub-groups, it is a vital part of viewpoint diversity, which is the bedrock upon which many of our expectations for a free and democratic society rely.

Appendix I:

Coding Protocol

Introduction

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this project. Before you begin, please read this protocol thoroughly and direct any questions you have to the researcher. Please re-read these instructions every time you sit down to code, as this will help refresh your memory and keep you consistent.

Do not code for more than four hours at a time.

This study will examine the characteristics of the people on the Public Broadcasting Service's national schedule. This is a selection of programs that are distributed to PBS member stations nationwide, and they constitute some of the best-known and most-watched programs on public television. This study will concentrate on primetime, between the hours of 8 p.m. and 11 p.m. on weekdays and from 7 p.m. and 10 p.m. on Sundays.

By finding out who is appearing on the most popular shows on public television, the aim of this project is to get a sense of how PBS is serving its mission to educate and entertain.

For each of the following items, please follow the directions and use your best judgment.

PROGRAM ID

Each program has been designated a unique identification number by the researcher. Find your program on the program list and enter it here.

NEW

This item refers to whether this is the original airdate of the program, or if it is a repeat broadcast. This information is also on your program list, supplied by the researcher.

GENRE

PBS has designated 10 content genres, into which each program falls. These are: *Arts & Cultural, Children's, Cultural Documentary, Daily News Coverage, Drama, History, News & Public Affairs, Science/Nature, Other/How-to/Travel* and *Performance.* What genre each program fits into was be supplied by PBS, and is on the program list.

START TIME

Write the start time of the program, in hours and minutes. All programs start in p.m.

DURATION

Write the duration of the program, in hours and minutes.

RATING

The FCC has outlined the following ratings and content labels to describe the intended audience and content of each program. This information appears in the first 15 seconds of each program, usually in the corner of the screen. Enter the code that corresponds to the displayed rating.

Code	Rating	Audience
0	No rating shown	
1	TV-Y	All children
2	TV-Y7	Children age seven and above
3	TV-G	General audience
4	TV-PG	Parental guidance suggested
5	TV-14	Children over 14
6	TV-MA	Mature audiences only

CONTENT WARNING

In addition to the above ratings, one or more of the following content labels may appear, but many programs show none of these labels. For these five items, mark a 0 if the label does not appear, and a 1 if it does appear.

Label	Content
V	Violence
S	Sexual situations
L	Coarse language
D	Suggestive dialogue
FV	Fantasy violence

CHARACTER ID

A character is a person whose face is seen on-screen AND whose voice can be heard. For this reason, a narrator who is never seen will not be coded, while a reporter who sometimes appears on camera will be coded as a character.

The one notable exception to this rule is when a character is the subject of discussion. For example, a historical figure may be the subject of a documentary, and he or she should be coded even though his or her voice may not be heard. Likewise, people who are the subjects of discussion—whether or not they are the main subject of the program—in fiction or nonfiction programs should also be coded, provided that their image is visible. This can include paintings, reenactments, photographs, etc.

Characters should be coded in order of appearance—when they are first seen and heard. It's often the case in a news or documentary video to play a series of sound bites in the introduction (tease) of a program without showing his or her face. These should NOT be coded. Instead, wait for the person's face to appear on screen.

To identify the character, first assign the character a number, starting with 1, in order of appearance in the program.

CHARACTER NAME

Write the character's name—as it was identified in context or in the main titles. If it is never clearly given, write a short descriptive phrase—one to three words that might help others identify this person if they watched the show.

ROLE

In nonfiction programs, characters are first separated into two categories: *reporter/host* and *source*. Anyone associated with the program itself is considered a reporter/host, while those people who appear to supply specific information (e.g. eye-witnesses, experts, etc.) are considered sources.

Especially in news and public affairs programming, clips of newscasts or talk shows are sometimes played. In such a case, the reporters and hosts of the excerpted programs would be categorized as a reporter/host, while the guests or interviewees would be considered sources.

In fiction programs, characters are separated into *main title* and *secondary*. Those characters who appear in the main titles of the program—including guest stars—are considered of prime importance to the program, and are therefore categorized separately, as main title. Other characters are categorized as secondary.

Characters may also be coded as *subjects*. Please note that these roles are mutually exclusive. For example, if someone is the subject of a documentary, but his or her voice can be heard, he or she should not be coded as a subject, but as a source. Even though the host of a nonfiction program may be appear in the main titles, he or she should still be coded as a reporter/host.

APPEARANCES

The character role gives one dimension of program prominence; the amount of screen time a character gets is another.

Count the number of times the person's FACE appears in the program. This is a count of individual shots. A shot can last for minutes, or be a fraction of a second. An appearance is each time the character appears on screen in a new shot. If a character appears in only a portion of the shot (and yet is clearly identifiable), this should still be coded as an appearance.

For example, in a conversation between two characters, the camera may switch back and forth between the two characters. Each time a character reappears, this is a new appearance.

AGE

Enter your best guess (in years) as to the approximate age of the character.

GENDER

Please enter a 1 for a male, a 2 for a female, and a 0 if you can't tell. Transgender people should be coded as a member of the gender with which they have identified.

RACE

Please enter your best estimation for the race of the character. Enter 0 if you don't know, or if the person appears to be an identifiable minority that is not on this list. You'll have to use your best judgment here; look for clues in the person's appearance, name, behavior, and in the context in which they appear. Please note that Hispanic/Latino ethnicity is addressed in the next item (one can be one of a number of races and also be Hispanic/Latino).

0	Don't know/other
1	White
2	African American/Black
3	East Asian/Pacific Islander
4	Native/Indigenous
5	Middle Eastern
6	South Asian (East India & neighboring)
7	Multiracial (specific races are known)

HISPANIC/LATINO

This ethnicity category applies to people whose ancestry comes from Spanish-speaking cultures in Mexico, Central America, South America, and parts of the Caribbean. As with race, you'll have to use your best judgment. Pay attention to the person's appearance, name, behavior, and to the context in which they appear. Please enter a 0 if you don't know. If he or she is identified as non-Hispanic/Latino, enter 1. If he or she is identified clearly as Hispanic/Latino, enter 2.

FOREIGN

If the character is clearly identified as a non-U.S. citizen or resident, enter 2. If he or she is most likely a U.S. citizen or resident, enter 1. If you can't tell, enter 0.

MARITAL STATUS

This study considers domestic partnership (heterosexual or homosexual) as equivalent to marriage, in that it represents a lifestyle involving a committed relationship with another person. Please enter the corresponding code for the apparent marital status of the character. If it is not clear, enter 0. Categories are:

0	Don't know
1	Single
2	Married/domestic partnership
3	Separated or divorced

4	Widowed
5	Mixed (status changes within the program)
6	Not applicable (e.g. character is a child)

OBVIOUS PERMANENT DISABILITY

Please indicate whether the character has an obvious, permanent physical disability (1), mental disability (2) or both (3). Severe physical and mental illness, for the purposes of this study, should be coded as disabilities. If no disability is obvious, enter 0.

ADDICTION

Please indicate whether the character has an obvious substance addiction (e.g. to alcohol or drugs). If not, enter 0. If yes, distinguish whether the person is actively engaged in substance abuse (1) or if he or she is a recovering addict (2).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Please indicate whether the person is *heterosexual* (1), *gay, lesbian or bisexual* (2), or if it is *not clear* (0). It's rare that this comes up explicitly, so you'll have to use your best judgment. Use contextual cues like sexual behavior and references to romantic relationships. However, it is expected that most characters will be coded as not clear.

OCCUPATION

Please select the character's occupation from the list. Note that it's a very long list and you might find more than one category that seems to fit. It's a good idea to read through the full list before you code the first character of each program to familiarize yourself with its organization and to remind yourself of the different types of occupations it covers. If the character has a job that is not on the list, please write in the profession into the space for the code. If you don't know, enter 0.

STORY FUNCTION

Please rate the character's affect on the story as negative (1), positive (3), or neither positive nor negative (2). The character's good actions and bad actions should both be taken into account, and balanced against one another. If she has contributed more good than bad to the story, code her as positive. If the opposite, code her as negative. If she has little effect on the action of the story, or if her good and bad acts cancel one another out, code her as neither positive nor negative.

Continue coding characters for each program until all characters have been coded, and then move on to the next program.

Again, thank you for your participation in this project.

CODING CATEGORIES

Coder	
Program ID	
New?	0 No 1 Yes
Fiction?	0 Can't tell 1 No 2 Yes
Genre	0 Don't know 1 Cultural Documentary 2 Arts & cultural 3 News & public affairs 4 Children's 5 History 6 Daily News Coverage (Newshour) 7 Science/Nature 8 Other/How-to/Travel 9 Drama 10 Performance
Start time	##:##
Duration	#
Rating	0 None shown 1 TV-G 2 TV-Y 3 TV-Y7 4 TV-PG 5 TV-14 6 TV-MA 7 NR
Violence (V)	0 No 1 Yes
Sexual situations (S)	0 No 1 Yes
Coarse Language (L)	0 No 1 Yes
Suggestive dialogue (D)	0 No

	1 Yes
Fantasy Violence (FV)	0 No 1 Yes
Character ID	
Character Name	[text]
Role	0 Can't tell 1 Nonfiction: Reporter/host 2 Nonfiction: Source 3 Fiction: Main title 4 Fiction: Secondary 5 Subject
Appearances	#
Age	#
Gender	0 Don't know/Not applicable 1 Male 2 Female
Race	0 Don't know 1 White 2 African American/Black 3 East Asian/Pacific Islander 4 Native American 5 Middle Eastern 6 South Asian 7 Multiracial (specific) 8 Minority, but not identifiable
Hispanic?	0 Don't know 1 No 2 Yes
Foreign	0 Don't know 1 No 2 Yes
Marital Status	0 Don't know 1 Single 2 Married or in domestic partnership 3 Separated or divorced

	4 Widowed 5 Mixed (w/in program) 6 N/A (e.g. Child)
Obvious Permanent Disability	0 No obvious disability/Can't tell 1 Yes, permanent physical 2 Yes, permanent mental 3 Yes, both
Addiction	0 No/can't tell 1 Yes, current 2 Yes, recovering
Sexual Orientation	0 Don't know 1 Heterosexual 2 Gay, lesbian or bisexual
Story function	1 Negative 2 Neither negative nor positive 3 Positive

Sample Coding Sheet

CODER	PROGRAM ID	NEW?	GENRE	FICTION?	START TIME	DURATION	RATING	VIOLENCE	SEXUAL	COARSE	SUGGEST	FANTASY	CHARACTER	NAME	ROLE	APPE/	AGE	SEX	RACE	HISP/	FORE	MARI'	DISA	ADDI(	SEXU/	OCCU	FACE	DRES:	PERS(	Fxn
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	SEBASTIAN	1	101	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	3	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	DAVID HADLE'	5	27	4	1	6	1	1	2	0	0	1	37	2	3	3	1
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	PALAI	2	6	6	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	REPORTER 1	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	4	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	REPORTER 2	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	9	4	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	REPORTER 3	1	1	4	2	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	9	4	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	REPORTER 4	1	1	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	9	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	WITNESS 1	2	1	5	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	WITNESS 2	2	1	5	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	REPORTER 5	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	4	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	MRS. RANA	2	13	5	2	6	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	RANA	2	4	5	1	6	1	2	2	0	0	1	9	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	MOM	2	4	5	2	6	1	1	0	0	0	1	12	3	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	CHAN BAI	2	6	7	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	DAD	5	1	5	1	6	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	REPORTER 6	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	4	3	4	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	REPORTER 8	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	4	3	4	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	SAGEMAN	2	13	6	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	18	2	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	LEADER	2	10	6	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	2	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	SAYID	2	2	5	1	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	19	2	3	3	1
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	GF FRIEND	2	11	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	BLEGEN	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	2	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	TANKEL	2	7	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	18	4	4	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	P. KEITH	2	8	6	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	12	3	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	M. KEITH	2	4	6	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	12	4	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	MIR	5	2	4	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	4	3	3	1
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	WARDEL	2	13	3	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	4
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	IQBAL	5	1	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	42	3	3	3	1
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	NAME CHANGE	2	3	4	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	16	3	3	3	4
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	HELPER	1	6	4	2	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	4	4
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	31	SWAMI	2	2	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	9	4	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	BHARTI	2	6	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	24	2	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	WIFE 2	5	4	4	2	6	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	4	3	3	4
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	MUDD	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	24	4	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	OFFICER	2	1	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	22	2	3	3	4
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	TERRORIST	2	1	3	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	2	3	3	1
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	CHABAD	2	1	3	1	5	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	3
KD	1292100	1	3	1	9:00 PM	0:56	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	KASHMIRI	5	1	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	4	3	3	1
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	CUMMINGS	3	4	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	14	4	4	4	3
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	WATSON	3	144	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	4	4	3	4	5
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	CEO	4	7	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	4	3	3
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	HOLMES	3	185	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	38	4	4	2	5
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	COP	4	6	4	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	23	4	3	2	4
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	ASIAN LADY	4	44	3	2	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	9	4	4	4	4
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	DOOFUS	4	8	3	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	43	3	3	4	4
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	VAN COON	5	3	5	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	3	3	4	3	3
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	SWEATY	5	4	5	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	9	2	2	3	3
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	MSM MGR	4	3	5	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	8	4	4	4	12
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	TEMP	4	7	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	0		43	3	3	3	3
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	GRAFFITI	4	17	3	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	4	2	2	4
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	COP 2	4	18	3	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	22	4	3	2	2
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	WOMAN	4	11	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	43	4	4	3	4
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	SHOPOWNER	4	4	7	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	12	4	4	3	2
KD	1292200	1	9	2	10:00 PM	1:23	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	PHOTOG	4	3	3	2	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	37	3	3	3	2
KD	2012200	1																												

Appendix II:

List of studied programs

Date	Program	Prog. #	Start Time	Genre
3-Jan	*Antiques Roadshow Miami Hour 1*	1	8:00	8
3-Jan	*American Experience: Robert E. Lee*	2	9:00	5
3-Jan	*Yellowstone: Land to Life*	4	10:30	7
9-Feb	*NOVA scienceNOW: How Does the Brain Work?*	5	8:00	7
9-Feb	*NOVA Making Stuff Smarter*	6	9:00	7
9-Feb	*NOVA Smartest Machine on Earth*	7	10:00	7
18-Mar	*Washington Week 5038*	8	8:00	3
18-Mar	*Need to Know*	9	8:30	3
18-Mar	*Nature Silence of the Bees*	10	9:30	7
18-Mar	*Washington Week 5038*	11	10:30	3
3-Apr	*NOVA The Incredible Journey of the Butterflies*	12	7:00	7
3-Apr	*The Civil War The Cause – 1861*	13	8:00	5
3-Apr	*American Experience: Robert E. Lee*	14	10:00	5
13-Apr	*Secrets of the Dead: Battle for the Bible*	15	8:00	5
13-Apr	*NOVA The Bible's Buried Secrets*	16	9:00	7

3-Jun	*Washington Week 5049*	17	8:00	3
3-Jun	*Need to Know 0158*	18	8:30	3
3-Jun	*Masterpiece Mystery! Miss Marple, Series V The Secret of Chimneys*	19	9:00	9
12-Jun	*Nature Wild Balkans*	20	8:00	7
12-Jun	*Masterpiece Mystery! Poirot X The Third Girl*	21	9:00	9
12-Jun	*Yellowstone: Land to Life*	22	10:30	7
23-Jun	*Antiques Roadshow Wichita KS 1308 HR 2*	23	8:00	8
23-Jun	*Keeping Score: Mahler: Origins*	24	9:00	5
23-Jun	*Mahler: Symphony No. 1 in concert*	25	10:00	10
5-Jul	*History Detectives 0903*	26	8:00	5
5-Jul	*Frontline: Wikisecrets*	27	9:00	3
5-Jul	*POV: Sweetgrass*	28	10:00	1
6-Jul	*Nature: The Gorilla King*	29	8:00	7
6-Jul	*NOVA: Ape Genius*	30	9:00	7
6-Jul	*NOVA scienceNOW: How Smart Are Animals?*	31	10:00	7
25-Jul	*Antiques Roadshow: Chattanooga, TN 1312*	32	8:00	8
25-Jul	*Antiques Roadshow Spokane, WA 1211*	33	9:00	8
25-Jul	*Abraham and Mary Lincoln, A House Divided: American Experience*	34	10:00	5

4-Aug	*Antiques Roadshow: Grand Rapids, MI 01313*	35	8:00	8
4-Aug	*Killer Stress: A National Geographic Special*	36	9:00	7
4-Aug	*This Old House 0918*	37	10:00	8
12-Sep	*Antiques Roadshow: Relative Riches 1319*	38	8:00	8
12-Sep	*Antiques Roadshow: Las Vegas, NV*	39	9:00	8
12-Sep	*Nancy Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*	40	10:00	5
18-Oct	*History Detectives 0903*	41	8:00	5
18-Oct	*Frontline*	42	9:00	3
18-Oct	*Women, War & Peace: Peace Unveiled*	43	10:00	1
28-Oct	*Washington Week 5118*	44	8:00	3
28-Oct	*Need to Know 0207*	45	8:30	3
28-Oct	*Miami City Ballet Dances Balanchine & Tharp*	46	9:00	10
28-Oct	*Loopdiver: the Journey of a Dance*	47	10:30	1
30-Oct	*NOVA: Iceman Murder Mystery*	48	7:00	7
30-Oct	*America in Primetime Man of the House*	49	8:00	2
30-Oct	*Masterpiece Mystery! Case Histories When will there be good news Parts 1 & 2*	50	9:00	9
8-Nov	*Secrets of the Dead Japaneses SuperSub*	51	8:00	5
8-Nov	*Frontline*	52	9:00	3

8-Nov	*Women War & Peace: War Redefined*	53	10:00	1
21-Nov	*Antiques Roadshow: Atlantic City 1406*	54	8:00	8
21-Nov	*American Masters: Woody Allen*	55	9:00	1
21-Nov	*George Carlin: The Mark Twain Prize*	56	10:30	8
25-Nov	*Washington Week 5122*	57	8:00	3
25-Nov	*Need to Know 0211*	58	8:30	3
25-Nov	*PBS Arts from Los Angeles: Il Postino from LA Opera*	59	9:00	10
27-Nov	*NOVA: The Fabric of the Cosmos Universe or Multiverse?*	60	7:00	7
27-Nov	*Nature American Eagle*	61	8:00	7
27-Nov	*Masterpiece Contemporary Framed*	62	9:00	9
27-Nov	*Smitten*	63	10:30	1
30-Nov	*Nature: Why we Love Cats and Dogs*	64	8:00	7
30-Nov	*NOVA: The Incredible Journey of the Butterflies*	65	9:00	7
30-Nov	*Through a Dog's Eyes*	66	10:00	7
1-Dec	*Antiques Roadshow: Madison, WI 1407*	67	8:00	8
1-Dec	*This Old House 1009*	68	9:00	8
1-Dec	*Independent Lens: Art & Copy*	69	10:00	1
13-Dec	*Christmas with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir Featuring David Archuleta*	70	8:00	10
13-Dec	*L.A. Holiday Celebration 2010*	71	9:00	10

13-Dec	*Frontline*	72	10:00	3
22-Dec	*Christmas at Belmont*	73	8:00	10
22-Dec	*This Old House 1012*	74	9:00	8

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